A

TREATISE

Concerning the STATE of

Departed SOULS

Before, and At, and After the

RESURRECTION.

Written originally in *Latin* by the late Rev. Dr. THOMAS BURNET, Master of the *Charter-House*, Author of the *Theory of the Earth.*

Translated into *English* by Mr. DENNIS.

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Translated from the Latin *of Dr.* BURNET, *late Master of the* Charter-House.

The FAITH and DUTIES of CHRISTIANS. A Treatise in eight Chapters; giving an Account of,

I. The Foundation of Natural and Instituted Religion.
II. The Authority and Usefulness of the *Jewish* Religion.
III. The Christian Dispensation; the Nature and Author of it.
IV. The Worship of God; and its sacred Rites, according to the Christian Law.
V. Moral Rules and Precepts according to the Christian Law.
VI. The Christian Articles of Faith.
VII. The Secondary Articles in the Christian Doctrine explain'd.
VIII. The Christian Church; its Government and Discipline.

Translated into *English* by Mr. DENNIS.

Tr. R.
B 964 T

To the HONOURABLE

Colonel *BLADEN*,

One of the

Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations.

SIR,

I THINK myself obliged to embrace this first Opportunity of returning my humble Thanks to You in this publick Manner, for the Honour which you lately did me, and

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and the Favour which I received from You; a Favour attended with ſo many engaging Circumſtances, that I know not which of them render'd it moſt agreeable to me: For it was not only done to one, who was ſo entirely a Stranger to all of You, but Your Character, and Your Writings, that I whom Time and Fortune have deprived of Sight, unleſs the Object is very near to me, never had the Honour and Pleaſure of ſeeing You: But it was done at the moſt ſeaſonable Juncture, and in ſo handſome and graceful a Manner, as gave me the Pleaſure of thinking, that ſome Things which I had publiſhed had not been diſagreeable to You, but had gain'd me ſome little Share in the Eſteem of a Gentleman whom every one eſteems, whoſe Merit has ſhone conſpicuouſly out, both in the Camp, and in the Republick

lick of Letters; in the Council of Trade, and in the great Council of the Nation; who appear'd able to make *Cæſar* ſpeak like *Cæſar*, ſpeak in *Engliſh* with that Spirit with which he conquered *France*, with which his own Victories were ſo nobly recorded by him.

HE who has uncommon Merit himſelf, is alone capable of diſcerning and regarding it in others; and he, if he had Power equal to his Will, would, by the Encouragement which he would give to them, revive thoſe beautiful and noble Arts, which now ſeem loſt and dead to us. For he who in ſo obliging a Manner has made his Favour deſcend to me, what would he not do for more deſerving Lovers of the Muſes? But though, SIR, Your Power were equal to Your

Desert, or to my Wishes, it would never enable You to oblige a Man who would retain a more lively Sense of Your Favours than does,

SIR,

Your most Humble,

And most Obliged Servant,

J. DENNIS.

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PREFACE.

I *SHALL not at present trouble the Reader with a Detail of the several Reasons, which a long Time restrain'd me from making the following Treatise* English, *though I was very much press'd to it. But I am oblig'd to acquaint him, that when I found it had been done by another Hand, with Notes, in which the Ashes of the venerable Author were poorly and meanly insulted by low and vile Buffoonry, becoming neither the Gravity of a Clergyman, nor the Faith of a Christian, nor the Justness and Spirit of a polite Writer, nor the Honour and Humanity of a Gentleman, I was provok'd to translate the foresaid Treatise anew, that I might have an Opportunity by this Translation to do Justice to the Merit of the excellent Author, with Regard to those who are not yet acquainted with his Works;*

an

an Author famous through the Learned World for his ſublime and noble Writings; eſteem'd by all the Learned World, one of its ſhining Ornaments, an Honour to Great-Britain, *and to human Nature; an Author in his Kind ſo admirable, that the underſtanding, impartial Reader will find even in this imperfect, rough drawn Copy, Things that are ſublimely beautiful.*

I believe that the moſt inveterate of Dr. Burnet's *Enemies, will not for his own Sake appear ſo malicious, as to affirm that that great Man had a Deſign to impoſe upon his Contemporaries, and upon Poſterity; I ſay upon Poſterity, to which his Works will certainly deſcend: He ſhews every where too magnanimous a Soul for that. No Man ſeems to me ever to have abhorr'd Falſhood more. I will not pretend to ſay that he is without Error, no human Writer either is, or was, or ever will be without it. The greateſt of Men both may and muſt err; but if we are to judge, as in Equity we ought, of the Proſe of a Writer, by the ſame Rule by which* Horace *judg'd of the Verſes of his Contemporaries,* Ubi plura nitent in Carmine, non ego paucis, offendar maculis, *&c. Then will I venture to affirm, that if Dr.* Burnet *has Errors, he has Beauties, and great Beauties, ſufficient to make an ample and a glorious Amends for them.*

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The Introduction: The Subject, and the Method of handling it.

THE mean, the uncertain, and the too often miserable State of the Affairs of Men, with regard to the present Life, gives us just Cause to inquire, whether human Happiness depends upon this alone: And since we are compounded, and intirely made

up of two Parts, the Soul and the Body; and ſince the Life of the Body muſt periſh, and be totally extinguiſh'd within the Compaſs of one Age, we are further to inquire, whether the Mind, that other Part of Man, ſurvives the Extinction of the Body, or whether, like two dear Friends, that are never to be divided, they both of them live together, and both of them together die. If this latter be the Caſe, we are irrecoverably ruin'd; the Whole of us is periſh'd and loſt; nor is it worth while to make any Inquiry concerning Things that have already ceas'd to be.

But if, on the other Side, the Soul remains after the Diſſolution of the Body; if, after 'tis deliver'd from it, it enjoys a ſeparate Life and Vigour; then have we many Queſtions to ask, and many Inquiries to make relating to the Soul thus ſeparated, and thus exiſting: What Sort of Life it enjoys? what Sort of State? and whether it be to remain the ſame for ever? Or, if it be to undergo another Change, whether it is to inform a ſecond Body of any kind? what Diſtinction there is to be made between thoſe that are good, and thoſe that are evil? what Sort of Rewards, what Puniſhments will be diſtributed to every one, according to their Merit? Laſtly, it will be a pleaſing Curioſity to purſue the Fate and the Fortune of the immortal Soul, from its Departure and Deliverance

Deliverance from its earthly Body, even to the Conſummation of all Things.

THESE are the Things that in the following Work we ſhall treat of, according to our Power; and as we treat of them, we ſhall diſtinguiſh, as far as we may, between Things that are clear and that are obſcure; between Things that are ſecret and Things that are popular; that every Thing may be plac'd in its proper Station, whether 'tis in Light or in Shade. Mean time, I invoke God, the Father of Light, that he would vouchſafe to direct my Steps, and to diſpel the Darkneſs within me, and the falſe airy Images of Things, that we may, at length, with Tranſport behold that Truth pure and naked, and undefil'd, with whoſe Charms we have long been inflam'd.

CHAP. I.

That human Felicity does not depend ſolely upon this Life, but that we are to expect a future State.

THAT there is a God; that he is the Author of all Things, and the ſupreme Governor; that he is the Beſt and the Greateſt of Beings; that he is holy, righteous, and juſt; this the Nature of Things requires; this the univerſal Conſent of Men. This

Foundation being once eſtabliſh'd, the human Soul is ſtrait obliged, by the View of this preſent State, to preſage a future: For when it obſerves in the Government of this lower World, or in this Part of the divine OEconomy, that in the Diſtribution of Good and Evil the Laws of Juſtice and Equity are not preſerv'd; it eaſily from thence concludes, that there is ſomething ſtill remaining, that all the Parts of this Drama are not compleated, that the grand Cataſtrophe is ſtill to come: Thus the Soul is exalted by the Expectation of Things which will come to paſs in a future State, as it were in a Scene that is next to follow.

The Goods of Fortune and external Happineſs do not, in this Life, accompany Wiſdom and Virtue. They are neither leſs, nor leſs frequently enjoy'd by fooliſh and wicked Men. But if human Happineſs were ultimately placed in theſe, and were to be finally determined here, the ſupream Governor of the World, and the ſame a moſt righteous Judge, would never endure ſo great Confuſion in the Order of Things. That the Good ſhould be happy, and the Wicked miſerable, is the Voice of God, the Voice of Man, and the Voice of univerſal Nature: But witneſs Heaven, and witneſs Earth, and witneſs ye conſcious Stars, that this eternal and moſt ſacred Law, among us miſerable Mortals, in the Compaſs of this Life, is never kept inviolable; therefore

fore grant me but this, that God is juſt and holy, and the neceſſary Conſequence of it muſt be, that there will be Rewards and Puniſhments in another Life, and that human Happineſs and human Miſery do not altogether depend upon this preſent tranſitory State.

NOR do we here complain of our own Times, as unhappy Men are often wont to do; nor do we believe the Age which we live in more corrupt or more profligate than ſeveral which have preceded it: The World is now what it always was. Run through the Records of all Times, of all Nations, the *Grecian*, the *Roman*, whatever Country you pleaſe, you will find in them all the *Socrates's*, the *Cato's*, Men that were placed at the Top of their Species, renown'd for the Excellence of their Nature, and diſtinguiſh'd by the ſingular Endowments of their Minds and Manners; theſe you will find by the Iniquity of Fortune oppreſs'd, hated by the impious and noiſy Vulgar, and perſecuted by Envy, with her blackeſt Calumnies: Nor can Tyrants, and Men in Power endure the Freedom of a noble Spirit, tenacious of Truth and Virtue. This is the miſerable Condition of human Affairs.

BESIDES, as the promiſcuous Fortune that attends the Virtuous and Wicked could not be agreeable to divine Juſtice and Righteouſneſs, if it were to have no Alteration; ſo the Meanneſs, the Littleneſs, and, if I may ſo

expreſs myſelf, the Vileneſs of the preſent Condition of Mortals, if it were ſolitary, firſt to none, and ſecond to none, would neither anſwer to the Dignity of God the Creator, nor to the Dignity of Earth's Inhabitants, that is, of human Souls. If you believe that God has created innumerable Worlds beſides this in which you live, the Difficulty under which you labour will not be altogether ſo great. But they who, beſides this Globe of Earth, (an Atom, with reſpect to its Littleneſs, a Dunghill, with regard to its Filthineſs,) acknowledge no inhabitable World, own no Inhabitants in any other Part of the Immenſity of the Univerſe; theſe Perſons are greatly injurious to the divine Majeſty, and fancy a God inferior to a magnanimous Man. And then if, beſides the Earth itſelf, you obſerve thoſe human Affairs which are tranſacted on it, you will find them ſo trifling, or ſo confus'd, or ſo miſerable, you would ſuſpect they were by ſome wicked Deity appointed, and by ſome impotent one endur'd: For what is there but Blood and Slaughter among Princes? what among private Men but Contentions, Quarrels, Reproaches, Calumnies, and daily litigious Diſputes? and too frequently about the verieſt Trifles. A great deal of Folly and Trifle every where! of Wiſdom a very little! And, which is more grievous to be endur'd, Pleaſures very ſhort and rare; many and laſting are our Griefs, and Complaints

proceeding

proceeding from Diſeaſes, Poverty, Enmity, and ſuch like Evils incident to human Nature: So that the Drama of this Life, if you abſtract from it all Conſequences, and its Connexion with a future State, is neither worthy to have God for its Author, nor even for its Spectator.

BUT I go farther ſtill: The little Affairs, and the trifling Buſineſs of this Life, if you take from it the Hope and Proſpect of a future, are ſo far from being worthy of God, that they are unworthy of a human Soul. We are depreſs'd in this mortal State beneath the Rank, and the Degree, and the Excellence of our Nature. From whence is that Shame which we diſcover in ſome of our Actions, and ſome of our natural Affections? From whence that Modeſty, or that Diſturbance in human Nature? and not only when we ſin, but when we obey the Deſires or the Neceſſities of Nature herſelf? Why are we aſham'd of ourſelves, and our own Nature, if we act nothing beneath our native Dignity? if we are not capable of a more excellent State? if we never had, and are never to have a worthier? Beſides, we are deſtin'd in this Life to be employ'd about Toys and Trifles, which neither become nor ſatisfy a reaſonable Soul, capable of Employments infinitely better, and infinitely more exalted. That which is moſt excellent, moſt noble, and even divine in us, is ready to ſink under the Burden and Care of the Body; and by

mean and little Affairs, which are neceſſary for the feeding and clothing the Body, and the Preſervation of Health.* And yet the Soul ſtands in need of none of all theſe, but is forc'd into Servitude as a Slave to the Body. She is ſubjected to Vanity here, under which ſhe groans, and under her Occupation, about vile and paltry Matters. But to what Purpoſe is that ſublime Underſtanding, by which ſhe contemplates celeſtial and eternal Beings, by which ſhe meaſures Heaven and Earth? To what Purpoſe is that noble Fire, and that aſpiring to Things of the greateſt and moſt exalted Nature? To what Purpoſe is that Thirſt of Immortality, which is never to be ſatisfied? To what Purpoſe that heroick Virtue which appears in ſome, which ſurmounts and undervalues all private Advantage for the publick Good,

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* *Can there be any one who believes that Man was born for no other End than to digeſt what he eats and drinks, than to watch the Winds, and purſue all his Life-time periſhing and fallacious Hopes; and that after this ſhort Madneſs is over, he muſt be laid once more in the Earth from which he was taken, and diſſolv'd into his original Duſt?* And yet this, forſooth, is the End of Man, and the *Neplus-ultra* of Humanity! "We were not created, *ſays* "*Cicero*, either raſhly or fortuitouſly, but there was pre- "ſent a Power divine, which conſulted the Advantage "and Happineſs of Mankind; nor would he produce "or provide for that, which, after it had endur'd all "Fatigues, borne all the Calamities of Life, and had "been victorious over them all, was at laſt to lie "down in Death's eternal Sleep." Cic. Quæſt. Tuſc. I. "in fine.

Good, or the Love and Intereſt of Virtue? Theſe are the Conſiderations that convince me, that ſince God has wrought nothing without Deſign, and infus'd into us no vain and frivolous Inſtincts, that the Time will come when we ſhall be freed from this corporeal Priſon; when we ſhall enjoy a new Light, a more excellent Life, and an everlaſting Felicity.

'Tis eaſy to perceive, that the human Soul, with all its freer Motions, is conſtrain'd and curb'd, and, if I may uſe the Expreſſion, ſuffocated by the Body; and the more it ſtrains to exert itſelf, the more ſenſibly does it feel the Weight of ſuch Impediments. To what Purpoſe then has this Force, this Largeneſs of Soul been given us, by which 'tis carried beyond the Bounds and Limits of this Life, if nothing remains or exiſts beyond it? In vain have God and Nature ſupplied the Soul with ſuch Wings, if we are only allowed to crawl upon Earth, never to raiſe ourſelves above the Ground, and never to take our Flight to Heaven. If this be the Caſe, they have not only given us theſe Wings in vain, but to our great Inconvenience; for the more exalted the Soul is, and the more abſtracted from the Senſe, the leſs it takes care of earthly Things, and the more unfit it becomes to diſcharge the common Functions of Life: Then if this is the only Life of which 'tis capable, and the Whole of what belongs to Humanity, the Soul is undone

done by its own Virtue; and all the Wiſdom, but that of the World, and that which regards it, is Folly. A moſt infamous Affront both to God and Man, and an unpardonable Calumny! Who can bear it that has a Grain of Senſe, or a Grain of Generoſity in his Nature! Who muſt not hear with a generous Diſdain ſuch Affronts impos'd on himſelf, and on Humankind! I have only one Thing to add, which is, that if this be the State of human Affairs which is here ſuppos'd, and I had known this before I was born, I would have rejected with Diſdain the Offer of ſuch a Life; neither to live, nor to die, had at all been worth the while.

HITHERTO we have taken our Proofs and our Arguments, for the proving the Certainty of a future State, from the divine and human Nature; but now another Method of Reaſoning offers itſelf, from the Conſideration of the Nature of Things, in Conjunction with the divine Nature. And thus the Argument ſtands: If there is a God, then the Reaſons and Foundations of Good and Evil are eternal and unchangeable; the Diſtinctions between Vile and Generous, between Juſt and Unjuſt, Eternal and Immutable. Now theſe Things being thus laid down, it follows, if I am not miſtaken, that there will be another Order and State of human Affairs, beſide what there is at preſent. Perhaps, at the firſt View, this Conſequence may not appear; but I ſhall, in a few Words, lay

lay open the Force of it in both Parts of the Argument. By the Word *God* all Men underſtand the ſupream Deity, a Being infinitely perfect. Among the reſt of his Perfections, they always acknowledge his Wiſdom, his Goodneſs, his Juſtice, and the brighteſt Purity; which, ſince they are Perfections in God, they muſt be likewiſe ſo in proportion in all thoſe intellectual Natures which have been by God created. There have then been Diſtinctions from all Eternity, between Good and Evil, Juſt and Unjuſt, Vile and Generous; Diſtinctions not conſtituted nor appointed by human Authority, or human Force, or human Laws, but flowing from the immutable Nature and Perfections of God. Now, ſince God, or ſupream Perfection, is the Meaſure of all Things, and that which is right is the Diſcoverer of itſelf, and of that which is crooked; the Things that deviate from this Rule, and the Qualities oppos'd to it, will, by that very Oppoſition, become Vices, Stains, and Errors, ſo conſtituted from all Eternity: And this is the firſt Part of our Argument. The ſecond is, that ſince Things and Actions are thus divided, the human Actors muſt likewiſe be divided into two Parties, the Good and the Evil, the Juſt and the Unjuſt, the Worthy and the Vile: Thoſe are pleaſing to God, theſe are diſpleaſing; thoſe have his Love, and his Averſion theſe: For that God ſhould not love his own Image is altogether impoſ-

ſible,

ſible, or that he ſhould not acknowledge his own Perfections, wherever 'tis that he ſees them, and cheriſh and embrace what he ſees conformable to him, and partaking of the divine Nature; and, on the other Side, reject and abhor whatever is incongruous, diſcordant, and oppos'd to his own Nature: But now ſince God is the higheſt Lover of that which is juſt and equitable, and is one who has all Power in his Hands, 'tis certain that he will not be an unconcern'd Spectator, but will take care that Juſtice ſhall be done; nor will beſtow the ſame Felicity upon his Friends and his Enemies, the Deſerving and the Unworthy, but will ſee that both the Deſerving and the Unworthy ſhall have the Portion due to them; and the more perfect any one is by Virtue, Piety, Wiſdom, and the nearer to God by the Excellency of his Nature, by ſo much the more exalted ſhall he be, by ſo much the more happy: But ſince this is by no Means done in this Life, as is apparent to all the World, 'tis a moſt certain Conſequence, a Conſequence firm and immovable as God himſelf, that it will be done in another.

And ſo much for this Sort of Reaſoning: But to all this is uſually added, by way of Concluſion, and as an Argument of the utmoſt Weight, the univerſal Conſent of Nations concerning a future State; nor, in my Opinion, is this without very juſt Reaſon; for the Voice of Nature, if 'tis rightly underſtood,

derſtood, is the Evidence and Touchſtone of Truth: But the Favourers of the contrary Opinion endeavour, by two Ways, to weaken the Force of this Argument. Firſt they deny that this Opinion, or this Hope of a future Life is univerſal to all Nations, at leaſt, if the barbarous ones be included; nay, they deny farther, that this Opinion is univerſal, even among the polite and learned Nations, nay, among the very Philoſophers: Some of them, they ſay, were more inclin'd to embrace the contrary Opinion.

As for what relates to the firſt, as many Nations as ever worſhipp'd a God, or inſtituted any religious Worſhip, or any ſuperſtitious Rites whatſoever, did, by this very Practice, diſcover their Hope or their Fear of a future State, and that they expected Rewards or Puniſhments according as their Actions were pleaſing or diſpleaſing to their Gods. As for the other Heathens, who ſeem to underſtand nothing of Divinity, they appear to know as little of Humanity, but, like errant Cattle, to lead a beſtial Life; and therefore it would be unjuſt to take the Value of Humankind from theſe poor wretched Creatures, and an Eſtimate of the Virtues and Powers of all the reſt from theſe Dregs of Humanity, nay, the very Dregs of Barbarity. If any one had a Mind to inquire into the Nature and Virtues of an Herb, he would not gather it wither'd and juiceleſs, in a barren Ground, but ſo as it grows

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in a generous Soil, where 'tis cheriſh'd by the Rays of the Sun, and nouriſh'd by the Dew of Heaven, according to the Cuſtom and the Order of Nature; and the Strength and Virtue that he finds in ſuch a Plant, he will reckon to belong to its Species, and to be proper and natural to all the Kind. Thus if any one would diſcover the Luſtre and Worth of a Diamond, he will not examine it rough, as they call it, and clouded with the adherent Filth of the Soil where it grew, but will view it cut, and ſmooth'd, and poliſh'd; and what the Worth of it then is, what Luſtre it darts, what Virtue it emits, all that he will attribute to the Force of its Nature, and from thence ſet an Eſtimate upon its Value.

As for what relates to the ſecond Point, if there either are or have been any learned Men or Philoſophers who deny a future State, 'tis plain that they are of the Number of thoſe who acknowledge nothing in Nature beſides Matter; or at leaſt of thoſe who allow no natural Diſtinction in the Affairs of Mortals of Juſt and Unjuſt, Worthy and Vile. The former, that is, the Materialiſts, ſhall be refuted in the following Chapter; and for what relates to the latter, if we have already prov'd from the Nature of God, that there have been, from all Eternity, Diſtinctions between Good and Evil, we have already overthrown the Error on which that Opinion depends; and we have ſhewn in the

the ſame Piece, and in the ſame Thread of Diſcourſe, that a future State is inſeparably joined with the Nature of God, and with the Nature of Things. That I may ſay all in a Word, the Whole of the Matter lies here: If there is a God, there is likewiſe a future State; and they who acknowledge the former, are in vain induſtrious to root out the latter from the Minds of Men.

HITHERTO we have trod in the Paths that the Light of Nature diſcover'd to us; but a brighter Light ſhines forth from the ſacred Oracles, which ſhew a future Life clearly and openly to the Eyes of all the World. I muſt confeſs, that in the *Jewiſh* Diſpenſation eternal Life was placed in Shadows, and deſcried only by the Glimmering of a doubtful Light; but in the Chriſtian Religion, the Sun ſhews nothing at Noon more clearly, than the ſacred Authors diſcover Immortality. That I may ſay nothing in this Place particularly of the Doctrine of the Reſurrection, or of the laſt Judgment, 'tis plain that Chriſt and his Apoſtles have every where diſtinguiſh'd the preſent Life from a future, and the whole Hinge of the Chriſtian Religion turns upon that Diſtinction. *What will it profit a Man*, ſays Chriſt, *if he gains the whole World, and loſes his own Soul.* Mat. viii. 3. The Soul that is proſperous to the utmoſt of its Wiſhes in this World, cannot be loſt or be miſerable unleſs in another. And Chriſt ſays in another Place, *Make yourſelves Friends* Luke xvi. 9.

Friends of the Mammon of Unrighteouſneſs, that when you fail, they may receive you into everlaſting Habitations. And in another Place, *Fear not them which kill the Body, but are not able to kill the Soul; but rather fear him who is able to deſtroy both Body and Soul in Hell.* And in another Place, *He that denieth me before Man, ſhall be denied before the Angels of God.* And, *Every one that hath forſaken Houſes, or Brethren, or Siſters, or Father, or Mother, or Wife, or Children, for my Name ſake, ſhall receive an Hundred Fold, and ſhall inherit eternal Life.* In theſe, and numberleſs other Places, Chriſt diſtinguiſhes the preſent from a future Life, and treats of them as Things oppoſite and very different from each other: Nor does he do this only when he ſpeaks plainly and openly, but dwells upon the ſame Subject in his Parables; as in that of *Dives* and *Lazarus*; in that of the Pearl of ineſtimable Value; in that of the Wheat and the Tares; and in ſeveral others. He has done the ſame Thing in his Sermon on the Mount, when he ſpake to the People; the ſame in his daily Converſation with his Diſciples: In all Places and at all Times he proclaims aloud, that the good and evil Things of this Life are to be utterly contemn'd, in reſpect to future Miſery or Felicity. Laſtly, by his Reſurrection from the Dead, and his viſible Aſcenſion into Heaven, he has not only verbally taught us, that there

Mat. x. 28.

Luke xii. 9.

Mat. xix. 29.

there is a Life to come, but has ſet it really before our Eyes.

THE Apoſtles walk'd in the ſame Path that their Maſter did before them, every where aſſerting that the Soul has two very different Lives, and two very different States. *If in this Life only we have Hope in Chriſt,* ſays St. *Paul, we are of all Men the moſt miſerable.* 1 Cor. xv. 19. *But we know,* ſays he in another Place, *that if our earthly Houſe of this Tabernacle were diſſolv'd, we have a Building of God, a Houſe not made with Hands, eternal in the Heavens; for we that are in this Tabernacle do groan, being burthen'd; not for that we would be uncloathed, but cloathed upon, that Mortality might be ſwallow'd up of Life.* 2 Cor. v. 1, 4. In the ſame Manner St. *Paul* ſays to the *Romans, that all Nature, together with us, does groan being burthen'd, and aſpiring to a certain Immortality: For I reckon,* ſays he, *that the Sufferings of this preſent Time are not worthy to be compared with the Glory which ſhall be reveal'd in us: For the earneſt Expectation of the Creature waiteth for the Manifeſtation of the Sons of God.* Rom. viii. 18, 19. To be ſhort, every Page in the Apoſtolick Writings proclaims a future State and eternal Life; at once the Foundation and Recompence of our Faith: And Chriſt is ſaid to have brought, by his Goſpel, this Immortality to Light, that is, he explain'd it more clearly, and more efficaciouſly, than either *Moſes* in his Laws, or the Philoſophers in their Schools.

CHAP. II.

That the Human Soul is an immortal Substance, distinct from the Body, and from all Matter.

IT being once granted that Men are to enjoy a future Life, it neceſſarily follows that the human Soul is immortal. But ſome are of Opinion, that its Immortality is foreign from its Nature, and only granted to it as an Advantage by divine Favour: Others are of Opinion, that it was created immortal; and that 'tis by its own Nature exempt from Diſſolution. The ſacred Writings manifeſtly teſtify, that 'tis immortal either one Way or the other, as we have juſt now ſeen, when it treats of eternal Life, of the Reſurrection of the Dead, of the laſt Judgment, of future Rewards and Puniſhments, of Heaven and Hell, and other Things that relate to them; all which ſuppoſe, that the Soul exiſts after the Death and Diſſolution of the Body, that it lives and enjoys both Senſe and Thought. However, I am of Opinion, that it will be worth while, in a few Words, to enquire, whether, beſides the extraordinary Favour of God, whatever that is, the Soul is not immortal and incorruptible, by the Force and Principles of its original Nature,

ture, though depending ſtill upon God : For it greatly corroborates our Aſſent to this, and Belief of it, to ſee what we believe have its Root and Foundation in the very Nature of Things.

WE can never diſcern or diſcover, with all our Attention, any Quality in the human Soul, beſides Thought, and the Power to think. Whatever the Soul does, either within itſelf, or externally, it acts not by Touch or Impulſe, but by the Force of ſome Thought, whether that Thought is called Will, or Underſtanding, or Appetite, or by any other Name. And likewiſe when it ſuffers, either from itſelf, or from without, that Suffering too is a Species of Thought : So that we can find nothing at all in the Soul, beſides the Power of Thinking, and its various Manners. Now if the Nature of the Soul, or the very Eſſence of it, as ſome are us'd to ſpeak, conſiſts entirely in Thought, 'tis eſſentially Life, and is active or conſcious of itſelf without ceaſing ; nor can it any otherwiſe periſh than by Annihilation. For if you take away all Thought from it, or the Power to think, you deprive it of its very Eſſence, which is the ſame Thing with annihilating or deſtroying the Soul. We own that this is in the Power of God ; nor is that the Queſtion at preſent : But we deny that its Life, or its Power to think, can poſſibly periſh, the Eſſence of the Soul remaining ; which from this Conſtitution of

the Soul, if you admit of it, in my Opinion, truly and neceſſarily follows.

They who after this Manner conſtitute the Nature of the human Soul, by that very Thing render it immortal, and inceſſantly active or conſcious of itſelf, unleſs 'tis reduc'd to nothing. But they who, beſides this Force of thinking, and this vital Energy, if we may be allow'd to borrow that Word, attribute to the Soul Extenſion and Dimenſion, and lay this as a Foundation antecedent to all Thought, they are to conſider by what Means they are able to prove the future Life of the Soul: I ſay the future Life, not the ſimple Duration; for 'tis one Thing ſimply to endure, or to laſt, like a Stock or a Stone; and another Thing to live and to enjoy Senſe and Thought; which is what all Men underſtand when they hear the Name of Immortality, and of the Life hereafter. But if once an extended Subſtance is placed in the room of a Soul, in which Life or Thought are not neceſſarily included, it will depend upon external Cauſes, or upon divine Favour, whether it ſhall want or enjoy Life and Thought. But I am unwilling to quarrel with any one who is for preſerving Immortality for us at any Rate, whether he derive it from Nature, or from divine Favour.

But now to make a farther Progreſs in my Argument: They who endeavour to perſuade us out of Immortality, than which nothing

nothing can be dearer to our Thoughts, will have the Soul to be not only an extended Subſtance, but really and truly Corporeal in every Reſpect, and ſo, like Body, capable of being diſſolved. Theſe Reaſoners I look upon as profeſs'd Enemies to Human Nature. But even towards Enemies there are certain Rights and Decencies that ought to be obſerved. Let us, therefore, lay aſide all paſſionate Reproaches and injurious Language, and argue the Matter candidly and calmly with them.

WE will, if you pleaſe, for the ſake of ſhortening the Cauſe, take it for granted, by common Conſent, that there is ſomething incorporeal in the Nature of Things; or if you are unwilling to take any Thing for granted, that is not extorted from you by the Force of Reaſons, we will, in the firſt Place, prove that God is not a Body, or is not corporeal. And, after we have laid this Foundation, we will proceed to examine the Nature of the Soul, which is the Point in Queſtion.

THOUGH it may juſtly be reckon'd among thoſe Abſurdities which require no Proof, that the corporeal World created itſelf, without the Hand of an Artiſt, without any preceeding Deſign, or Thought, or Counſel; and though it be no leſs abſurd, that that High Wiſdom and Sovereign Power, which ſhine forth ſo brightly in the Workmanſhip and Government of Nature, ſhould be innate or

implanted in blind and groſs Matter; yet ſo oddly are the Minds of ſome Men turned, that whatever does not ſtrike the outward Senſes, or fill the Imagination; or, that I may ſpeak more plainly, whatever is not corporeal, all that they eſteem as nothing. Well then, let us briefly examine the Thing: If God is corporeal, he muſt either be the whole corporeal World, all the univerſal Maſs of Matter; or ſome certain Portion, ſome Species, or ſome ſingular Kind of it. If you affirm the latter, you ſay nothing; becauſe no kind of Matter is unalterable. All Matter, indeed, as to its Subſtance, is one and the ſame; but as to its Modes and Qualities, it alters continually: That which is hard to Day, to Morrow grows ſofter, or is melted; and that which is thin and ſubtle to Day, grows hard, and thickens to Morrow, and is depriv'd of its Motion. For Motion paſſes without ceaſing from ſome Parts of Matter to others; as likewiſe the other Qualities of Matter by the Mediation of Motion; and nothing remains under the ſame Form perpetually. Therefore your God would be like *Proteus;* or rather, by the various Mutations of Matter, would often die and revive. Beſides, as he is not univerſal Matter, he cannot be omnipreſent; nor only that, but he would be broken aſunder, and his Subſtance would have Chaſms in ſeveral Places, by the Interpoſition of other Bodies; for if your God is the thin and

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fluid Portion of Matter, by the Interpoſition of hard Bodies there would be a Solution of his Continuity : If you make him of the hard and groſs Part of Matter, he would be often and variouſly torn from himſelf by the Fluid that would run between his divided Parts. So that by this Means you will have not One, but Numberleſs Gods ; Nor would it at laſt be an entire God, but ſo many broken Limbs and miſhapen Pieces of a God. Laſtly, you include your God in ſingle Particles of Matter; or Part of him in one, and Part of him in another : Chuſe which Way you will, the Choice will be down right Stupidity, which it is not worth while to take any farther Notice of.

You ſee how wretchedly God is made up of ſome particular Matter, be it what it will that you chuſe : Nor is it leſs abſurd, or leſs impoſſible, to exalt the univerſal Maſs of Matter into a God and a divine Nature. If you imagine that all the vaſt Structure of this viſible World, and all Bodies whatever, celeſtial, terreſtrial, animated, unanimated, Stocks, Stones, Metals, and whatever is viler and more ſordid than theſe ; if you imagine all theſe to be God, in this your Folly ſurpaſſes the Folly of the groſſeſt Heathens in the World ; for they believed that the Deity which they adored was very different from the Marble or Wood, or whatever Statue they had conſecrated to him. They believ'd, indeed, that the God inhabited, after ſome

Manner, the Statue which they had erected to him; but they diſtinguiſh'd the Inhabitant from the Houſe, and the Sword from the Scabbard: But you confound both the one and the other. Beſides, according to your Opinion, we daily eat and drink the God that we worſhip, nay, we tread him under our Feet. And whatever Matter ſuffers when 'tis violently toſs'd or driven, when 'tis cut, burnt, ground, or tormented any other Way, God ſuffers in that: For you ſay that Matter is God; and, ſince 'tis divine, it cannot be inſenſible. Nothing can be more foreign from all Reaſon than this: But ſtill you are preſſed with an Abſurdity of a blacker Dye. You not only make God ſuffer, but, what I hardly dare to pronounce, you make him impious, you make him villainous: For if the Univerſe is God, he muſt be all its Parts, whether they are animated or unanimated, baſe or noble, pure or impure, nay, the moſt profligate, and moſt accurs'd either of Men or Devils. But we ought with a religious Care, to abſtain from theſe unutterable Things.

These, and other Things of this Nature, unworthy the Majeſty of the ſupreme Deity, are inſeparable from your Hypotheſis, which depreſſes the Nature of God, and confounds it with Matter. Nor, on the other Side, do you leſs contend againſt Reaſon, when you are for exalting Matter, in ſpite of its Unwillingneſs and its Reluctancy, into a divine

divine Nature, and cloathing it with Perfections, of which it is moſt incapable. Let us, if you pleaſe, recollect what all Men underſtand by the Word GOD: They certainly all underſtand a Nature that is infinitely perfect. But is there any Man alive who can perſuade himſelf and others, that all Perfections are inherent in Matter, that they all ſpring from that Root, that they all flow from that Fountain? In the firſt Place, the Maſs of Matter has in itſelf neither Force nor Action; nor could it receive either from abroad, if there were nothing more excellent than itſelf: And then, after it had received it from ſomething elſe, it could not poſſibly exerciſe it, unleſs by the Diviſion of itſelf into various Parts, and the local Motion of thoſe Parts. But neither does Diviſibility, nor local Motion, agree with infinite Perfection. Secondly, if the Maſs of Matter contains and includes in itſelf neither Force nor Action, much leſs does it contain and include in itſelf Cogitation; and leaſt of all, Cogitations infinitely perfect, infinite Wiſdom, Power, and Goodneſs; beſides other Perfections, in which the Sovereign Power incomparably out-ſhines all Nature.

BUT you will ſay, perhaps, (that I may not be in the leaſt indulgent to my own Cauſe,) that Cogitation, indeed, is not manifeſtly included and contain'd in the Conception of Matter, or of the Maſs of Bodies, but that, perhaps, 'tis ſecretly or remotely contain'd,

contain'd, beyond our Capacity and Ken of Soul. To this I anſwer, that among all the Ideas of the human Soul, there is none which is either more preſent, or of which it has a clearer View, than the Idea of Matter, or of an extended Subſtance. We moſt evidently conceive all its Dimenſions; beſides its Diviſibility, Mobility, Figures, Poſitions, and Proportions. And the Sciences which treat of theſe Proprieties of Matter, are of all the moſt evident, and the moſt demonſtrable. And when we can find no Connexion between Cogitation and any of theſe Proprieties of Matter, or any other Propriety of it, that falls within the Compaſs of human Underſtanding, it ſeems to be a groundleſs Suſpicion, and without the leaſt Appearance of Truth, that this moſt excellent Propriety, or Perfection of Matter, according to your Imagination, ſhould be contain'd in the ſame Idea, and yet ſhould not ſhine out in it; and that we ſhould not, with our utmoſt Effort of Mind, be able to come at it there, or to derive it from thence.

I SAY *this moſt excellent Propriety* of Matter; for the other Proprieties which I enumerated are of ſmall Moment, of little Dignity, if they are compared with Thought, and all the Perfections which flow from Thought; theſe conſtitute the divine Nature, and all that is noble and eminent in human Nature: The others have neither Life, nor Senſe, nor any Thing of the Force and Virtue of the greateſt

eſt of Beings. Thus that Idea which appear'd to us, of all Ideas, the moſt entire and the moſt accompliſh'd, *viz.* the Idea of Matter, or of corporeal Nature, is cut ſhort by one Half, and that the more noble Half: God has conceal'd from us, to our great Diſadvantage, if not to our great Wrong, that which was moſt noble and moſt worthy to be known in the Nature and Notion of Bodies, by impoſing this defective, and therefore fallacious, Idea on us. But this is a Calumny that has been invented againſt God, and againſt Men: Whatever is proper to Matter is included in its Idea; and whatever is foreign to it, and of another Kind, as Thought, and the Power of thinking, that neither is, nor ought to be included in it, unleſs you would include any Thing in any Thing, and entirely confound the Diſtinction of Things.

BUT that we may proceed in our Argument: The divine and corporeal Nature are ſo far from agreeing, that they are repugnant to each other, and contradictory. One is infinitely perfect, the other manifeſtly and variouſly imperfect, in itſelf enervate and impotent, and every Way obnoxious to ſuffer from external Force: One of them alway the ſame, the other liable to perpetual Mutations: One of them ſimple and uniform; the other, by various Modifications diverſify'd, and by Compoſitions numberleſs. By which 'tis abundantly manifeſt, that there

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is so far from being any Connexion, Affinity, or Similitude, between divine and corporeal Nature, that there is an apparent Repugnancy, and that consequently God is incorporeal.

Now this Foundation being laid down, that I may come the nearer to what I proposed, I assert, in the second Place, that besides God, there may be something incorporeal in the Nature of Things. This, without Delay or Contention, is manifestly deduc'd from the Premises; for since God is incorporeal, 'tis plain from thence that an incorporeal Nature implies no Contradiction, or that 'tis a possible Nature. Now, to produce a possible Thing, can never be impossible: And when the same God that is incorporeal is likewise omnipotent, 'tis in his Power really and actually to produce whatever is not impossible.

THIRDLY, and lastly, we affirm, that the human Soul is of an incorporeal Nature, or that 'tis a Substance incorporeal. I could here before this Proposition insert another, more general, and, as it were, intermediate, *viz.* that 'tis not only possible there should be, but that there really and actually are, existing in the Universe, incorporeal Substances, besides God; and then could have added, that such in its Kind is the human Soul. But we will, if you please, in this Chapter comprehend them both. First then, I assert, that in the vast Compass of the

the Univerſe, there are other incorporeal Subſtances beſides God. For nothing from the Thing itſelf, as has been made to appear, hinders the Sovereign and All-powerful Being from creating theſe incorporeal Natures when he created the Univerſe, and without them the Workmanſhip of it had been in a Manner imperfect, and maimed in its nobleſt Part. If any one ſhould build a magnificent Houſe; and when he came to adorn and furniſh it, ſhould ſupply it with no coſtly Furniture, but only with earthen or wooden Ware, or Utenſils of ſome more ignoble Matter, to the Neglect of every ſumptuous, every gallant Ornament; you would be apt to ſay, that Man, or that Maſter, was either diſorder'd in his Underſtanding, or exhauſted by his Expence, or very miſerably covetous. So if the Creator of all Things in compleating and adorning his Work, had omitted the moſt excellent Ornaments, incorporeal Natures, one would have been apt and ready to ſay, that he had been either by Envy or Impotence depriv'd of the Will, or of the Ability to finiſh and accompliſh his Work. How great and how frightful a Chaſm had there been? how vaſt a Vacuity in the Nature of Things, if there had been nothing between the higheſt and the loweſt Nature, between God and Matter? In that immenſe Interval, there is Room for numberleſs Orders of Beings, and Beings of the nobleſt Kind; which, if God had either not created,

created, or had afterwards ſuppreſs'd, he had been neither mindful of his own Majeſty, nor the Dignity of his Undertaking. Laſtly, in the Nature of Things there are very many Phænomenas, which can neither juſtly be referr'd to Matter, nor immediately to God: Theſe Appearances require intermediate Natures, and ſecondary Cauſes from God, ſuperior to the utmoſt Power of Matter: But there is here no room to dwell any longer upon theſe.

THE Way being thus prepar'd, and, as it were, level'd, we come at length to the very Concluſion in which the Argument terminates, *viz.* that among theſe incorporeal Subſtances the human Soul has a Place, or that 'tis one of their Number. The whole Point in Debate, it is plain, turns upon this, *viz.* to what Claſs and Order of Things, corporeal or incorporeal, the human Soul belongs? * But ſince the Eſſences of Things in a great meaſure lie hid from us, and we have hardly

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* That this may more clearly and diſtinctly appear, let us diligently examine, and, as it were, look into ourſelves, that we may ſee what we are, and what Value we ought to ſet on ourſelves. Every Man is conſcious of himſelf and his own Exiſtence. If any one ſhall happen to doubt of this, he muſt be convinc'd by that very Doubt, and confeſs that he exiſts But what ſort of Beings we are, who doubt, who will, who will not, who rejoice, who grieve, and who think a thouſand different Ways; here, I ſay, lies the great Queſtion, what we are who act, and who ſuffer theſe Things. In the firſt Place,

hardly any other Way to diſcover the Differences between them, than by their Proprieties and their Effects, it will not be foreign to our Purpoſe to compare, in the firſt Place, the Qualities and Effects of each Nature, the corporeal and the incorporeal, or of our Souls and our Bodies; that we may learn from thence, whether they are different, or are one and the ſame; and if they are different, in what Manner they differ or are oppos'd to each other.

WE

Place, I perceive that I am a Being diſtinct from all other Beings. Nor does any other feel the Grief or the Pain that I do, nor I what another feels; and ſo for Pleaſure, and the reſt of the Affections. Beſides, I underſtand either more or leſs than others; and as every one has the Freedom of his own Will, I have that of mine. I am ſick, am in Health, I hunger, I ſleep, for my ſelf only; and laſtly, I live, or I die for myſelf alone. By reaſon of this Conciouſneſs of Actions and Paſſions proper and peculiar to me, and incommunicable to any Thing elſe, I call myſelf a certain Individual, divided and diſtinct from every other Being; diſtinct from God, as I am an imperfect Being, obnoxious to the Errors, both of my Underſtanding and Will; diſtinct likewiſe from every other Being, when they neither perceive my Thoughts, nor Senſations, nor have I any Senſe of theirs. In the mean while, thoſe Actions or Paſſions, of which I alone am conſcious, muſt neceſſarily belong to ſome Subſtance, as the Properties and Faculties of that Subſtance: To God they cannot belong, as we have ſhewn above, and will be ſtill more clear below; they muſt belong then to ſome created Subſtance, corporeal or incorporeal.

THESE Things being premis'd, you ſee very clearly that the whole Point in Debate turns upon this, *viz.* to what Claſs of created Beings, corporeal or incorporeal, the human Soul belongs?

We have ſeen above, that Thought is not included in the Idea of corporeal Nature, or that on the other Side, any of the Proprieties of Body are included in Thought; and therefore the Author of Nature has deceiv'd us both Ways, if Thought belongs to Matter; and therefore unleſs we pretend to underſtand beyond the Reach of our Faculties, or beſide them, or againſt them, no Motive or Handle can ſpring from our Ideas that may occaſion our uniting and confounding Thought with corporeal Nature.

But you will ſay, perhaps, that we ſometimes learn thoſe Things by Experience, which we could never have deduc'd from our Ideas alone. If we ſhould grant it, yet never has it been found by any Experience, that the Mind either acts or ſuffers after the Manner of Matter; or that Matter either acts or ſuffers the ſame Way that the Mind does, that is, by the Power and Force of its own Thought. We all know very well, that Matter either acts or ſuffers by Motion, Touch, or Impulſe; but never has it yet been made to appear, that the Mind either acts or ſuffers by Touch, or by Impulſe, or by any of the Motions which they excite. For Example; when I move by a voluntary Motion either my Tongue or my Finger, or any other Part of my Body, I am conſcious of no Impulſe, or any Manner of Streſs whatever made by my Mind upon that Part of the Body. There is, indeed, a Motion of the Spirits,

Spirits, or of the thinner Juice, from which the Motion of that Part of the Body ultimately proceeds: But we are now inquiring into the first Original or Cause of that Motion of the Spirits in the Brain, as far as it lies in our Power, and after the Manner by which it proceeds immediately from the Mind, or from the Action of the Mind. But I affirm, that I am conscious of no Action of my Mind in the producing or effecting this Motion, but *Volition*, or the Command of my Will. But that this Action, or Command of my Will, is perform'd by Touch or Impulse, or has its Effect by those, I am able to discover by no Consciousness, nor find by any Experience.

And as for the Passions of the Mind, occasion'd by the Body, and *by corporeal Objects*, these Objects as far as they are in the Soul, have no Resemblance or Relation to Local Motion, or to those Motions of the Body by which they are excited. For Example: The Heart is contracted in Grief and Sadness, and dilated in Mirth and Joy: But no Man can imagine that this Contraction, or this Dilatation, can be in the Soul itself, as if the Soul of Man were muscular, compos'd of Fibres and Tendons. For the Sense of Grief, of which we are conscious, and which we clearly perceive, represents neither Local Motion to us, nor any Thing that is moveable, but is a singular Idea, ha-

ving no Reſemblance to any other, and leaſt of all to Local Motion.

And, laſtly, in external Senſations, in the Perception of Taſte, Smells and Sounds, that which we moſt immediately feel, gives us no Image, either of Matter or Motion. And when we ſee external Objects by Images painted in the Eye, thoſe Images can never be carried with an equal Motion, and in the ſame entire Figure to the Seat of the Soul in the Brain, or in whatever Part or Region the Soul has its Seat and Perception is perform'd; nor can *they more, when they are in Diſorder and Confuſion, repreſent the Object* (*by their own Force*) *diſtinctly to the Soul.* But we ought leaſt of all to ſuſpect, that theſe Images, or Remnants of Images, are the very Thoughts themſelves that ariſe from them in the Soul. And the ſame Account is to be given of thoſe little Images, which we may call Memorial Marks, which are very imperfect, and therefore unequal to their original Types. Laſtly, if there are beſides any other Thoughts, that may be referr'd to this Claſs, you will find upon inquiring into them, that they include nothing extended, or figured, or corporeal.

Thus far have we treated of the firſt Operation of the human Soul, which is call'd ſimple Apprehenſion, whether it be a pure and abſtracted Idea, or join'd together with Motion in ſome Part of the Body. But there

there is in us, besides Ideas or simple Apprehensions, superior and nobler Principles, or Faculties of the Soul, as Judgment, Reason, and a Chain of Reasons link'd to one another; and, lastly, there is a sovereign Principle that presides over all these, and therefore is justly call'd by the *Greeks*, Τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν, & τὸ αὐτεξούσιον. This sovereign Principle has Dominion and Empire as well over the Operations of the Soul, as over the Motions of the Body: And all these are to be separately weigh'd, when we search into the Nature of the Soul. Let us proceed then, if you please, to a separate Examination of each of them. The Operations of the Soul then, as we said above, following each other in due Order, are divided into simple Perceptions, into Judgments, into Ratiocinations, and, if you please, into Methods, or into a Series of Thoughts that are marshall'd in exact Order; for Method comprehends and disposes of several Ratiocinations. Ratiocination is employ'd in the Connexion of several Judgments, Judgment in comparing and comprehending several Ideas, or several Sensations. Thus if you proceed in Order, the Ideas are the first Elements of Knowledge, and, as it were, the Letters of the Alphabet of which Words are compos'd, and of Words Sentences and Periods, and Discourse of Sentences: And thus the Scale of Thoughts answers, in some Measure, to the several Parts of Speech.

We have ſaid enough concerning the Ideas. The Judgments and Ratiocinations follow, in which the Mind contemplates the Relations, Proportions, and mutual Regards of the Ideas; for we ought to take notice of this, that the Ideas, conſider'd ſeparately, are incapable of offering any Truth to us, and that they neither conclude, nor affirm, or deny any Thing. This is another Action, another Faculty of the Soul, which by contemplating the Proportions, Regards, and Reſpects, that there is between theſe Ideas, (I here take Ideas in the largeſt Senſe,) affirm or deny ſomething concerning them, and conſequently concerning the Things which they repreſent, as they accord or differ, imply or exclude, agree or are oppos'd to each other, and this according to their different Meaſure and Degrees. Now fancy, if you pleaſe, that the Ideas themſelves are corporeal Motions; what are theſe Relations between the Ideas, theſe Concatenations and Dependencies? But, laſtly, what is this Judge, this Ruler of the Ideas, that examines as well the Ideas themſelves, as the Relations they have to each other? compares them, weighs them, determines and reconciles them? and by comparing them, forms various Propoſitions, and Concatenations of Propoſitions?

Lastly, do you believe that this Progreſs that you make in thinking, from ſimple Perception to Judgment, from Judgment to Ratio-

Ratiocination, and from thence to a well-order'd Series and Context of Arguments? do you believe, I ſay, that this Progreſs is made by the Impulſe of one Part of the Soul on another, or by any Succeſſion of Motions, according to the Laws of Matter and Local Motion? Moſt certainly you do not believe it: Turn your Eyes inward, conſult yourſelf, interrogate your Soul, that is Maſter and conſcious of itſelf; ask it, if theſe Operations are nothing but corporeal Mutations, but Touches, Impulſes, or Daſhings againſt other of corpuſcularian Particles, and that they are produc'd one from the other, according to the Laws of Local Motion. Your Soul, unleſs it lies againſt the Truth and itſelf, and is induſtrious to depreſs itſelf into an inferior Order of Things, which God did not ordain for it, but which yet it deſerves, by reaſon of the Wrong and Injuſtice which it does to itſelf; I ſay, unleſs it does that, it will ingenuouſly confeſs, that it finds nothing at all of that in itſelf, nor is able to gather from any Indication, that theſe Operations are perform'd in it after a corporeal Manner, by virtue of its own or of any other Body; but that by a Power peculiar to itſelf, and according to the Laws of a thinking Nature, from the Contemplation of its Ideas, and the Relation between thoſe Ideas, new Contemplations more compounded ariſe, as it were, ſo many new Births, or new Conceptions, after them.

To confirm this Teſtimony which the Soul gives concerning itſelf, provided it be frank and ingenuous, let us recollect a little what has been ſaid above: That Truth or Falſhood, properly call'd ſo, does not conſiſt in the bare Ideas taken ſeparately from each other, but in the right Diſpoſition of ſeveral Ideas among one another to their different Kinds, and their ſeveral Relations; for ſo Propoſitions and Judgments are form'd in the Mind, from which Ratiocination is afterwards wrought; and from them both, Diſcourſe of whatever Nature, Oration, or Diſſertation. From what has been ſaid, we form two Obſervations: The firſt is, that the greateſt Force of Mind that can poſſibly be conceiv'd, is ſeen in its contemplating, diſtinguiſhing, determining the Relations that Things have to one another, or the Ideas of Things. As Argumentation turns upon theſe, or makes its Progreſs from one to another, according to their mutual Connexions or Relations, the whole Series, and Progreſs, and Concatenation of Thoughts depends intirely upon theſe. The Ideas of Things that fall under the Imagination, being ſeparately taken from theſe, are like ſo much Sand without *Lime:* The Things which cement them, are the foreſaid Relations *perceiv'd by the Underſtanding only*. I ſay, *perceiv'd by the Underſtanding only*; for the ſecond Obſervation that we make is this, that the Relations of Things of this Nature

Nature have no Images of themſelves in the Brain, no Marks in the *Imagination*; nor can they be repreſented by any corporeal Image, when they are without Parts, without Shape, and without Extenſion. However, expreſs Subject, or the Words which we annex to our Idea, *Termini Subjecti*, may be in ſome Meaſure repreſented; as for Example, a Triangle, or Quadrangle, or ſomething of that Nature. But the Compariſon or Proportion between theſe *Termini*, or the Parts of either of them, or between any other Things whatever; this is *Ratiocination* reſulting from divers Things compar'd with each other, which can be repreſented by no Lines, and which no Colours can paint. We may apply to this what the Prophet ſaid concerning the divine Nature; *To whom will ye liken Almighty God? or what Likeneſs will ye compare to him?* What Similitude of his Likeneſs, or what Effigies of abſtracted Proportions can you poſſibly conceive could be drawn in the Brain, or in any other material Subſtance whatever? Thus the Reaſons of Truth and Falſhood, of Baſeneſs and Worthineſs, of Poſſibility and Impoſſibility, and of thoſe univerſal Notions which ariſe from the comparing ſeveral Things together; I ſay, theſe, and Ideas of this Nature, have not the leaſt Trace or Fold, the leaſt Shadow, or Form, or Figure, in the narrow or ſmalleſt Fibres of the Brain. But ſo much for this Argument. Iſa. x. 18.

HITHERTO we have follow'd one only Thread of Diſcourſe, *viz.* the gradual Progreſs that the human Soul makes in its Operations; in which, from ſimple Perception it proceeds to Judgments and Arguments; and from thence to a Series and Syſtem of Thoughts in the Arts and Sciences, rank'd in the moſt beautiful and the exacteſt Order, and to a long Range and Sequel of Propoſitions, as well for Contemplation as Practice, and the Government of human Affairs. How juſtly are theſe Virtues and this Force admir'd in the human Soul, by which 'tis diſtinguiſh'd from the Machine of its Body, and from all material Subſtance? Let us now return to that other no leſs admirable Principle or Faculty which we mention'd above, by which the Soul is likewiſe diſtinguiſh'd from the Machine of its Body, and by which it vindicates its Empire over all the Motions of the other: This Principle we have call'd Τὸ αὐτεξούσιον; the *Latins* call it *Liberum Arbitrium*, or the voluntary and ſpontaneous Force of the Mind. In the firſt Place, by the Force of this Principle we govern the Body, and command the Spirits which Way we pleaſe, to move this or that, or any Part of it: By this Principle we reſiſt the Propenſions of the Body, we controul its Appetites, and its Affections, and its external and internal Senſes, as often as 'tis our Pleaſure.

BUT

BUT, for God's ſake, what ſtrange kind of Thing is this that reſiſts the Body, if we are nothing but Body? When a River runs either this Way, or that Way, can it by its own Force put a Stop to its Stream, and turn it a contrary Way. No Matter whatever acts againſt itſelf, no Machine is conſcious of its own Motions, or from that Conſciouſneſs a Corrector and Reformer of its Errors. If it err, as 'tis not conſcious of it, it continues to err, till the Hand of the Artiſt or Maſter being applied to it, 'tis brought into Order, and reſtor'd to its right State.

No Part of Matter, and no Machine, can imitate this reflexive Principle, if I may have Leave to uſe the Expreſſion. This Force, that is a Reformer of itſelf, and that repents of itſelf, tranſcends all the Force, the Nerves and the Springs of thoſe corporeal Engines that appear to move of themſelves: And as it is ſingular and peculiar to an intellectual Nature, ſo 'tis in that Nature what is greateſt and moſt divine. I not only admire that perpetual Motion in the Mind of Man, by which it is rais'd above all Matter; but there is ſomething yet more ſublime, which lords it over the Mind itſelf, as well as over the Body, that with ſovereign Authority exacts an Account of all the Motions of each, and, as it were, another I, and a ſupream Judge, ſtrictly reviews the Actions of both one and the other,

other, and corrects or confirms them at Pleasure. *

Now as to what relates to our Thoughts, and to the several Motions of our Minds, what we chiefly find by Experience is this, that the Mind, according to that Liberty and Dominion with which it was at first created, applies itself to prosecute whatever Thought it pleases, dwells on it a longer or a shorter Time, deserts it, and turns itself to another, according to its sovereign Pleasure. Besides, we are to observe, that this αὐτεξούσιον, in exercising its sovereign Power, either on the Body, or on the Soul, sometimes takes the Advice of Reason, and follows that for its Guide; and sometimes, and that but too often, it takes a contrary Course, and then it looses all Command of itself, and often runs headlong upon its own Destruction. But when it calls in Reason to its Assistance, and chooses her for a Companion, then she is like the Deity, and

* TELL me, I beseech you, what is the Difference between Sleeping and Waking? When we dream, some Thoughts follow others fortuitously, according as the Phantoms offer themselves, without the Government or Command of the Mind, whether they are aptly or absurdly join'd. But when we are awake, there is something in us that corrects these Thoughts, guides them, commands them, stops them, and turns them which Way soever it pleases; and rejecting the absurd, connects and composes the rest into a rational Series. What is that superior Principle that presides over all these Motions of the Body, and all these Thoughts of the Mind, and governs them at its Pleasure? This superior Principle, I call the high, the sovereign, and imperatorial Mind.

and calls to a ſevere Examination all the Errors of the Soul, the Errors of the Will, and thoſe of the Senſes; the Errors of the Imagination, and thoſe of the Paſſions; nay, and the Errors even of Reaſon itſelf. In this the divine Force of the Soul ſhines out with the greateſt Glory. Indeed, in every Action, in every Paſſion of the Soul, let it be ever ſo weak, let it be ever ſo abject, as in Senſation, or in any Affection or Appetite, there is ſomething ſuperior to all corporeal Force; I mean that conſcious, perceiving, and comprehending Quality, which is every where preſent; for which Matter can be never ſufficient, nor any Thing compoſed of Matter. But when we aſcend by the forementioned Steps to the ſupream Perfection of our Natures, then we are immenſely diſtant from Earth, and from earthly Things; then we are rais'd to the very Heaven of Heavens, ten thouſand Degrees higher than any organical or mechanical Engine could ever have the Force to carry us *.

LASTLY,

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* But let us proceed: In a thinking Nature two Things are join'd, which can never concur in a corporeal Nature; for Example, Action, and the Unity of Action. Our Conception of Thought includes in it Action, and that the moſt united Action: But Matter is either void of Action, as the more hard, ponderous, unwieldy Bodies are; or 'tis void of Unity, as fluid and volatile Matter, which conſiſts of numerous Particles, which are carried this Way and that Way, without Connexion or Unity.

LASTLY, that I may wind up all this together, there is ſomething within us that may be called an univerſal Percipient, or an univerſal conſcious Principle, that runs through all the Operations of the Soul, and is diffuſed through all its Actions and Paſſions. Now I would fain know of you what this is: Is it ſome Limb, ſome Part or Particle of the Body? It is one and the ſame Thing that diſcerns external Objects, that judges and reaſons, that wills, reſolves, underſtands; laſtly, that receives all Impreſſions, and exerts or accompanies all Actions. There is a Neceſſity that this univerſal Perceiver ſhould be very ſimple, and of an Unity inexpreſſible, that it may be capable of receiving ſo many Impreſſions without Confuſion, and of contemplating with one View ſo many Reaſons and Relations of Things. No Part or Portion of Matter ſeems to me to be capable of ſo much Unity and Simplicity. Whatever is receiv'd, is receiv'd according to the Meaſure of the Receiver; and where there are ſeveral Parts or Particles in the Receiver, the Impreſſion muſt be confuſed or diſtracted. If the whole Impreſſion falls upon the ſame Point, there will be Confuſion; if upon ſeveral, there will be Diſtraction. In Matter there can be no one Part, that can perceive the Whole, or that can be conſcious of the whole Impreſſion, and the whole Object: But as in the perceiving external Objects, ſo in the comparing

paring and distinguishing them, there must be something one, that comprehends the Reasons of them, and handles, or divides, or connects them, like so many Threads; and either lengthens them, or breaks them off, and in various Manners winds and works them together. And in all these Variations and Operations, besides the proper Force which is in each of the singular Operations, there is a certain common Force which runs through them all, and is, as it were, the Soul of the Soul. And this universal Perceiver, or universal Conscious, must not be only something one, but something most perfectly one, and of the greatest Simplicity; of so great Unity and Simplicity, as was said before, that can never be conceiv'd to be in any extended Substance, divisible and composed of Parts that are distant from each other.

HAVING thus discuss'd these Things with all possible Brevity, it appears clear to me, on every Side, that our Souls are of a different Nature from our Bodies, and superior to all corporeal Force whatsoever. And this appears evident, whether we contemplate the Ideas of both Natures, or the Motions and Operations of the Soul, or that *universal Conscious*, which is inseparable from the meanest of them. Many other Arguments, and those unanswerable ones, are us'd by learn'd Men to prove the Distinction between the Soul and the Body, and any particular

"Vid. Suar. "de Subst. "xxx. p. "213, *&c.*

ticular Part of the Body. Certainly, the Soul of every Man is ſomething permanent, and is, during Life, the ſame numerical Being. But no Part of the Body is, during Life, the ſame numerical Thing; but one Part flies ſenſibly off, and a new one ſucceeds unconſcious and ignorant of the Things which the other knew or acted. But there is no Occaſion to dwell longer here upon this, when the Chriſtian *Inſtitution* hath inſtructed us clearly and fully in the Doctrine of the Immortality of the Soul, and the Diſtinction between that and the Body, as well in Creation, as in Death. Speaking of the Creation of Man, the ſacred Text diſtinguiſhes between his Soul and his Body, when
Gen. ii. 7. it tells us, that God form'd his Body of Earth, and then infus'd his Soul into it. Nor does it leſs upon the Death of a Man, when the compounded Being is diſſolv'd, ſend each Part of him ſeparately to its proper Origi-
Eccl. xii. 7. nal. *Then ſhall the Duſt return to Earth, as it was, and the Spirit to God who gave*
Mat. x. 28. *it*. And Chriſt has taught us, *that we ſhould not fear them who kill the Body, but are not able to kill the Soul:* And he himſelf, being about to expire, recommended his
Luke xxiii. 46. Soul into the Hand of God, while his Body hung upon the Croſs.

Mat. xxii. 23. BESIDES, Chriſt has affirm'd, that the Souls of *Abraham*, and of the Patriarchs are ſtill alive, (or, at leaſt, that they were at that Time.) And gives to pious, or penitent Souls,

Souls, after they have put off their mortal Body, a Seat in Paradiſe or in *Abraham's* Boſom; but ſent the Souls of wicked Men to Hell, or to *Gehenna*. *Moſes* and *Elias* appeared in the Transfiguration of Chriſt, many Ages after they had departed this mortal Life. Chriſt likewiſe call'd back departed Souls to their Bodies, as often as it was his Pleaſure, and reſum'd his own Body after it had been three Days buried, and aſcended into Heaven full of Life, and ſurrounded with Glory. Thus has Chriſt teſtify'd, by what he ſaid, by what he did, by what he ſuffer'd, and every Way, that the Souls of Men are diſtinguiſh'd from their Bodies, and live after the others die.

Luke xvi. 22. Luke xxiii. 43. John xi. 43. Mat. ix. 25.

THAT the Dead are ſaid to fall aſleep in the ſacred Writings,* is no ſolid Objection to the Immortality of the Soul; for neither does the Soul periſh in Sleep, nor ceaſe from all Kind of Action; but the Senſes being bound up, is not affected with the external World; which may very well be the Caſe in the State of Death, or in the *ſeparate State*, as it is wont to be call'd, when we live to God, and to the intellectual World, till we wake again in the Reſurrection, and reſuming

* It appears clearly in the ſacred Writings, that the Dead enjoy a ſort of Life peculiar to them, or that the middle State between the Death and the Reſurrection of the Body, is a State of Life, whatever that Life is. 1 *Theſ.* v. 10.

resuming a visible and corporeal Shape, renew our Commerce with the external World, Rom. xiv. 9. Christ calling us back to it, who is Lord of the Living, and of the Dead. But we shall have Occasion to treat of this Matter below.

THAT we may finish this Part of our Discourse, we are to observe, that every Man observes the Distinction between the Soul and the Body with Ease, or with Difficulty, according to his Genius and his Extent of Capacity. If any one could doubt, which, perhaps, some People may, of the Existence of their own Bodies, and of all external Things; that very Man, notwithstanding this, would be certain of the Existence of his own Soul. Which sufficiently discovers the Body and the Soul to be two different Things, and that there is no such Thing as a necessary Connexion between them. This doubting Man, I say, would be certain still of the Existence of his own Soul, from his very Incertitude and his Doubting; for any sort of certain Operation, let it be what it will, necessarily demonstrates the Existence of the Thing whose Action or Operation it is. Nor can the most obstinate Sceptick ever arrive at that Degree of Stupidity, as to deny or doubt of their own Existence. Let them take away Motion from the Nature of Things, let them take away Heaven, and the Stars of Heaven, and all the surrounding Objects that strike our Senses, nay, their

their own Bodies, if it be poſſible ; this thinking doubting Thing, which denies the Exiſtence of all the reſt, will ſtill itſelf remain ; nor can it confound itſelf with thoſe of whoſe Exiſtence it doubts. Laſtly, the Soul which after this Manner is diſtinguiſhed from its own, and from every other Body, is to be accounted an incorporeal Subſtance, as we ſaid at firſt : Nor will it be diſſolved at the Diſſolution of the Body, nor periſh when that periſhes ; but, poſſeſſing the Life that is proper to it, it remains ſurviving and immortal, capable of enjoying eternal Felicity, or feeling everlaſting Miſery.

CHAP. III.

What will be the future Condition of the Soul after the Diſſolution of the Body ; or of the Middle State of Souls in the Interval between Death and the Reſurrection, as to the Degrees of Happineſs or Miſery.

WHEN we have already proved, as well by Arguments drawn from Reaſon and Nature, as by the moſt evident Doctrines and Teſtimonies of ſacred Authors, that human Souls ſurvive the Extinction of their Bodies ; we are next to enquire,

quire, what Kind of Life they are like to enjoy, or in what State they ſubſiſt after they are ſeparated from their Bodies. The Queſtion that naturally offers itſelf firſt, is, whether, after they are ſeparated from this Body, they are to inform another, of what kind ſoever it is? or whether they are to remain naked, disjoin'd, and abſtracted from all Matter, even to the Reſurrection? The Solution of this Queſtion would lead us directly into the Knowledge of the future State of the Soul: But when there is another more general, and leſs obſcure, which inquires into the Degrees of Happineſs or Miſery before the Day of Judgment, I am inclin'd, firſt, to examine by Way of Introduction, the Opinions of certain Moderns, who carry the Souls of Men, juſt after Death, immediately after they have left their Bodies, either directly up to Heaven, to the Height of Glory and the beatifick Viſion; or thruſt them down into the Torments of Hell and unſpeakable Miſery. Either of which appears to me in its kind to be carried to too great an Extremity.

THERE are ſeveral of the Proteſtant Divines who will allow of no middle State of Souls, through an Apprehenſion of Purgatory. Thus when we would avoid one bad Extream, ſuch is the Folly of Mankind, we often run into another as vicious, and as blameable. 'Tis ſufficiently known, that the Papiſtical Purgatory is a human Invention, adapted to the

the Capacity of the People, and the Advantage of the Priests; nor will we, through Apprehension of this Fantom, desert the Doctrine of the Ancients concerning the imperfect and unfinish'd Happiness or Misery of human Souls before the Day of Judgment. But, as for what relates to the Misery and Punishments of the wicked, we shall at present pass it by: It will be sufficient to shew at present, that the Opinion of those who translate the Souls of the departed Righteous to the Kingdom of Heaven, and that supreme Glory, which is call'd the beatifick Vision, before the Resurrection of the Dead, and the Coming of Christ, is neither agreeable to the sacred Writings, nor to the primitive Faith of Christians.

THEY who promise themselves, or others, that they shall enjoy the beatifick Vision immediately after their Deaths, ought in Reason to shew us some Promise in Scripture that may sustain so great a Hope: For in these and the like Matters, which flow not immediately from the Nature of Things, but from the Will and the Appointment of God, a Hope that is founded on no divine Promise, is a temerarious Hope. Tell me then the sacred, the inspir'd Authors, who are the Sureties and the Guarantees of so great a Hope, and of so sudden and so vast a Felicity. In those Passages of the sacred Writings, which assure us that we shall one Day see God, we are by no Means taught

that this ſhall be immediately after any one's Death. We are rather told, on the contrary, that this ſhall not be till Chriſt ſhall appear, nor ſhall it be made manifeſt to the Sons of God, unleſs in the Reſurrection.

Mat. v. 8. 1 Cor. xiii. 12. John iii. 2. Rom. viii. 19, 23. Col. iii. 4.

BESIDES, according to the ſame ſacred Oracles, and the Apoſtolical Writings, the Saints are not to obtain their Glory and their ſolemn Reward before the Coming of Chriſt, and the Reſurrection of the Dead. St. *Peter* promiſes a Crown of Glory to the faithful Shepherds of Chriſt, when the Prince of Shepherds ſhall appear: Nor can I believe that the People will receive their Reward before their Paſtor. St. *Paul*, who in the Chriſtian Warfare is ſecond to none, tells us, that he is not to receive his Crown till the Day of the Coming of the Lord, the rightful Judge; and that he is perſuaded that he ſhall then at laſt receive from God the Soul which he has committed to him, together with eternal Life. *I am perſuaded*, ſays he, *that he is able to keep what I have committed unto him againſt that Day:* As if he was of Opinion, that the Time that interven'd between the Day of Death, and that great Day, was to be eſteem'd as nothing, being ſilent and inglorious; which that Holy Apoſtle would never have thought, if, in the mean while, he had been conſcious to himſelf, that in that Interval of Time we were to enjoy the Fulneſs of Glory, and the beatifick Viſion. Laſtly, when he prays to God

Ep. v. 4. 2 Tim. iv. 8. 2 Tim. i. 12.

God to have Mercy on any one, when he promiſes Joys, or threatens Revenge and Torments, the Apoſtle to that Day is wont to refer them all. And yet, if human Souls immediately after their Departure were either to be plung'd in unſpeakable Torments, or exalted to the Height of Glory, he ought to have referred both the Happineſs and the Miſery only to the Hour of Death. 2 Tim. i. 18. 2 Theſſ. i. 7, 8, 9, 10.

WE are moreover to obſerve, that whereas the Apoſtle, like to one who is about to lie down, and to take his Reſt, depoſited his Soul into the Hands of God, to be kept by him to that great Day; ſo in the Style of the ſacred Writings, the Dead are ſaid to ſleep, or *to fall aſleep*, and *to waken at laſt* on the Day of Judgment, and of the Reſurrection. I know very well that theſe Things are not to be underſtood in altogether a literal Senſe, much leſs are they to be underſtood ſo groſly, as if the Soul after Death were void of Life and of Action; for never can all the Power of thinking be driven from the Mind of Man; yet, nevertheleſs, this Manner of ſpeaking can never be applicable to the Condition of thoſe who are in Poſſeſſion of the beatifick Viſion, which both in Divinity and in Philoſophy is eſteem'd the moſt Perfect Operation of the Soul, and for that Reaſon can never be compared to a Sleep, or a Dream, in which the Actions of the Soul are ſo very far from Perfection. 1 Cor. xv. 6, 18, 20, 51. 1 Theſſ. iv. 13, 14.

Both these Discourses of St. *Paul* to the *Corinthians* and *Thessalonians*, concerning the Hope and State of the Dead, are certainly worthy to be well considered. He exhorts the *Thessalonians* not to grieve immoderately, like Men that are without Hope, for those that are Dead, or that sleep in Jesus. But what Argument does he make use of to comfort them, and to repel their immoderate Grief? Is it from this, that the Souls of the Righteous, as soon as ever they are freed from their Bodies, enter into Heaven, and partake of celestial Glory? This, indeed, had been the greatest Consolation imaginable, and a most present and effectual Remedy. But 'tis not from this Consideration, nor from the Dead's immediate Possession of Happiness, that he derives the Comfort which he gives to the Living, and the Fomentation that he uses to assuage their Grief; but from the certain Hope of a blissful Resurrection, and of a future Return with Christ in the glorious Day of his Coming. *I*

1 Thess. iv. 13, 14, 18. *would not have you to be ignorant, Brethren, concerning them which are asleep, that you sorrow not even as others that have no Hope: For, if we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so them which sleep in Jesus, will God bring with him.* —— *Wherefore comfort one another with these Words.*

2 Thess. iv. 30, 31, 32. Moreover St. *Paul*, in another Discourse to the *Corinthians*, Chap. xv. seems to argue

argue in such a Manner, as if our whole Hope depended on the Resurrection, that the Life to come would not be worth looking after, unworthy the Labours that we undergo, and the Dangers that we pass through in expecting it, unless we were one Time to rise from the Grave. But now, if at the End of this present Life we are immediately transported to that beatifick Glory, we shall then be happy, nay, unspeakably happy, though no Resurrection should follow. That divine Condition of the Soul would be the ampleſt Reward for the most heroick Virtue, since to dwell for ever in that celestial Light would be supream Felicity.

AND yet the same Apostle, after the same Manner, in the eighth Chapter to the *Romans,* comparing the Sufferings of this present Life, with the Glory that we shall enjoy hereafter, takes no Notice of this immediate beatifick Vision, but *regards* the Time of the Resurrection only, as if before the Arrival of that Day, the Saints would have no Reward; *for I reckon that the Sufferings of this present Time are not worthy to be compar'd with the Glory which shall be reveal'd in us.* But when is this Glory to be reveal'd in us? Is it to be immediately after Death? No; but when we wait for the Adoption, to wit, the Redemption of the Body, that is, at the Resurrection. And in the second Epistle to the *Corinthians,* he — says

v. 18, 23.

ſays after the ſame Manner; *That our light Affliction, which is but for a Moment, worketh for us a far more exceeding and eternal Weight of Glory. For we know,* 1 Theſſ. v. 1. *that this Tabernacle being diſſolv'd:* Well, what follows? That we ſhall ſtrait aſcend up to Heaven to the Enjoyment of the beatifick Viſion: No, I find nothing like it. Well then, what follows? *We have a Building of God, a Houſe not made with Hands eternal in the Heavens*, to wit, the celeſtial Body, with which we ſhall then be cloathed. You ſee, therefore, that in the Chriſtian Doctrine all Things are referr'd to this: Nor will it be eaſy to find that there is any *Retribution* beſides Peace and Reſt, and Comfort of Mind, promis'd in the Goſpel, before either the firſt or the ſecond Reſurrection.

Mat. xix. 28, 29. Act. iii. 19, 20. 2 Theſſ. i. 7. Apoc. xx. 6.

I PASS over, for the ſake of Brevity, other Paſſages which relate to the Point in Queſtion, which yet I earneſtly adviſe you to weigh diligently. Let us now only hearken to the Voice from Heaven, *Bleſſed are the Dead who die in the Lord.* But why bleſſed? Is it becauſe they are immediately to enjoy the beatifick Viſion? I find nothing at all like this in the Prophet: What then do we find in him? *For they reſt from their Labours, and their Works follow them,* which at length will have their Reward. This is the eſtabliſh'd Order of Things; this, and no other, is the Beatitude

Tit. ii. 12, 13. Coloſſ. iii. 3, 4. 1 John iii. 2, 3. Apoc. xiv. 13. 2 Cor. v. 5. Heb. ix. 23, 28. 1 Cor. i. 7.

that

that we are to expect. We assert then, according to the Decrees of the Christian Religion, that the Felicity of departed Saints will arise, either from the Hope of future Glory, or from Rest and internal Joy, till that happy Day shall shine forth, in which Christ will raise them from the Dead, make them like to the Angels in Glory, and conformable to himself.

WHAT we read further in the sacred Story of the Dead recall'd to Life, and of the Seats and Receptacles of departed Souls, answers to this Explication. For can any one believe that Christ tore *Lazarus* from the beatifick Vision, and forc'd him to come back into this miserable Life; or that *Abraham*'s Bosom, into which we read that the other *Lazarus* was translated, was the same Place with the Kingdom of Heaven, and the beatifick Vision of God; or that the Souls that cry from under the Altar, or that the Faithful, in their imperfect State, can bear the Splendor of celestial Light, and dwell in eternal Glory? If upon these Passages we consult the Fathers, they will make quite other Answers. Lastly, when Christ carried with him the Soul of the Thief into Paradise, he carried him not up to the Heaven of Heavens, the Seat of beatifick Vision; for he ascended not thither himself, during the three Days of his Death; nor do antient Authors, either *Jews* or Christians,

Apoc. vi. Heb. xi. 39, 40.

tians* give that Interpretation to the Word *Paradiſe*. If we weigh all this with impartial Minds, and readily follow where the Light of the ſacred Writings leads us; if we turn not aſide from this Path for any Cauſe whatever, nor take one Step beyond it, why then we muſt ſay, or rather repeat, *Bleſſed are the Dead who die in the Lord*, even at preſent bleſſed, becauſe they enjoy Peace, and Reſt, and Comfort; and will be hereafter tranſcendantly bleſt, when, upon the ſecond Coming of Chriſt having put on their glorify'd Bodies, they ſhall enjoy the raviſhing Sight of God in an inexpreſſible Manner.

Phil. i. 23. 2 Cor. v. 8.

NOR is it any ſolid Objection to this our Opinion, that St. *Paul* has, *That if he dy'd, he ſhould be preſent with Chriſt*, and, as it were, at home with the Lord: For whatever Preſence you can ſuppoſe that the Apoſtle means here, whether the viſible and corporeal one, or the ſpiritual and internal one, neither of them will at all weaken our Cauſe. If the Apoſtle means the corporeal Preſence, he means it from the Time of the Reſurrection, the Interval of Reſt between Death and that being accounted as nothing: For Souls being ſeparated from their Bodies, and from

* The *Jews* ſuppoſe the Happineſs of the Dead to be imperfect till the Day of Judgment. *Vid. Pocock. Notmiſc.* c. vi. p. 176.

from all Matter, cannot, during that State, have any corporeal or external Presence with Christ: This is, from the very Nature of the Thing, impossible. If, therefore, the Apostle means this corporeal Presence, the Time of Separation, or, that I may use his own Term, of *Obdormition*, is reckoned by him as nothing. But by reason of the Certainty of the Thing, and the insensible Delay, he joins the Resurrection immediately together with Death. And I am the less averse to this Explication, when I observe the Apostle's Opinion, in several Places of his Epistles, of the Approaching and sudden Coming of Christ. Besides, in the first Verse of this Chapter to the *Corinthians*, he has join'd the Time of throwing off the terrestrial Body, with that of putting on the celestial one, making no Account of the Interval of Time between them: *For we know*, saith he, *that if our earthly House of this Tabernacle were dissolved, we have a Building of God, an House not made with Hands, eternal in the Heavens:* Where he immediately joins the Dissolution of this mortal Body with the Assumption of the other, though more than fifteen Centuries have passed since the Death of St. *Paul*, and he has not yet received his celestial Body. But the imperceptible Time, in which no Alteration either happens, or can possibly happen to the Matter depending, is to be looked on as nothing. Beside, the Apostle has said in that

2 Cor. v. 1. Heb. ix. 23.

Chapter

—Ver. 4. Chapter to the *Corinthians*, that he would not be *uncloathed, but cloathed upon*, that is, that he would not be diveſted of his preſent Body; but here to the *Philippians*, he ſays, *that he deſires to depart*, or to be diſmiſſed *from his Body*. But this latter Saying is ſo to be moderated and expounded, that it may not be repugnant or contradictory to the former. And if the Apoſtle uſes this Phraſe, *to be with the Lord*, in the ſame Senſe in theſe Paſſages, that he has uſed them in others; *and ſo we ſhall be always preſent with the Lord*, we muſt neceſſarily conclude, that the ſame Time, and the ſame State of the Reſurrection is to be underſtood in both*. Laſtly, we muſt obſerve from the Nature of the Thing, that Chriſt has already aſcended above the higheſt Heavens, cloathed with his glorious Body; and that the Saints cannot poſſibly aſcend thither, or inhabit there, till they have likewiſe put on their celeſtial Bodies; which being granted to none before the Reſurrection, unleſs to thoſe who are rapt up to Heaven like *Enoch*, neither the Reaſon of the Thing, nor eſtabliſh'd Order, nor divine Diſpenſation, will allow us to expound theſe Sayings of the Apoſtle, as meant of the local and corporeal Preſence.

Eph. ii. 6.

1 Theſſ. iv. 17.

Eph. iv. 10.

THERE-

* 'Tis certain that when Chriſt was about to aſcend into Heaven, he did not promiſe his Diſciples that he would receive them to himſelf before his Return to the Earth.

THEREFORE if you had rather underſtand here the ſpiritual and internal Preſence of Chriſt, I am not againſt it. The Saints even in this Life are in this Manner preſent with Chriſt, and will be preſent with him in the Life to come after ſeveral Manners: By all which, according to this Interpretation, the Souls of the Righteous may be ſaid to be preſent with Chriſt after his Death. Firſt, they may be ſaid to be with Chriſt, as they will be under the Guardianſhip and Protection of Chriſt; for Chriſt being now about to expire, recommended his Soul into the Hands of his Father, that is, into the Cuſtody and Protection of his Father. But when Chriſt by dying had conquer'd Death, and ſo was become the Lord both of Life, and of Death, St. *Stephen* expiring, depoſited his Soul into the Hands of Chriſt, who dying, cry'd out, *Lord Jeſus receive my Spirit.* After the ſame Manner the Soul of St. *Paul* would be with Chriſt, depoſited with him, and in his Protection to the Day of the Reſurrection. Again, the Souls of the Saints are ſaid to be with Chriſt after his Death, by Reaſon of the internal Conſolation and Joy which they receive from Chriſt: For ſince Chriſt came into the World and became victorious over Death, I make no doubt but he has made a great Acceſſion to the Comfort and the Felicity of thoſe who are dead in him, as well from the Influx of divine Virtue, as from the moſt certain Hope, and,

Luc. xxiii. 46.

Act. vii 59.

and, as it were, the raviſhing Proſpect of a glorious Reſurrection: And, therefore, in the Interval between Death and the Reſurrection, 'tis rightly ſaid, that Chriſt is with us, and that we are living, and preſent with him. Laſtly, in this Manner of ſpeaking, there is a Regard to be had to the Oppoſition, as is evident from both the Paſſages to the *Philippians* and *Corinthians*. To be with Chriſt, and to be in this World, are each oppoſed to the other: When we go out of the World, we are not extinguiſhed, we are not aboliſhed, we are not reduced to nothing. Where are we then? We are with God, we are with Chriſt; we live to God, we are preſent with Chriſt, who will bring us back to the Stage of the World, full of Life and Spirit.

Luc. xx. 38. Col. iii. 3, 4.

We have no Reaſon to wonder then that St. *Paul* ſhould ſay, *Death is gain to me:* We ought rather to wonder that ſo great an Apoſtle ſhould ſay ſo very little. He who in this Life had gone through ſo many Calamities and Diſquiets, ſo many Fatigues, and ſo many Dangers; who had endured Hunger, and Thirſt, and Cold, and Nakedneſs, and Stripes, and Beatings, Impriſonments, and Stoning, and Shipwreck; all Kinds of Evils, all Kinds of Hardſhips both by Sea and by Land; that he ſhould pronounce Death more deſirable than this preſent Life, is not at all to be wondered at: If Death were nothing but Reſt, and a Truce from

2 Cor. xi.

from the Evils and Calamities of this present World, it would ſtill be preferable to Life. Let us then, that are ſuch little and wretched Creatures, learn from hence to think more modeſtly of ourſelves, and the Rewards which we merit, and not to promiſe ourſelves and others the Enjoyment of the beatifick Viſion, as ſoon as ever our Eyes are ſhut; when the great Apoſtle of the Gentiles, who, if ever any Man deſerved highly of the Chriſtian Religion, certainly it was he, ſeems to promiſe himſelf nothing ſo great and ſo deſirable. Let us be contented in that middle World, if I may have leave to call it ſo, with far leſs Enjoyments; yet, let us not think it a ſmall Thing, that the Soul being conſcious to itſelf of its Immortality, and breathing forth nothing but Love divine, ſhould acquieſce in God and itſelf, having at the ſame Time a joyful and lively Hope of the Coming of Chriſt, and the Glory which it is to partake with him.

LASTLY, that I may add this Reflection to the reſt, they ſeem to me to weaken the Force of the Chriſtian Doctrine concerning the Reſurrection, and to render the Reſurrection itſelf, as it were, of no Significance, who allow that Souls enjoy the beatifick Viſion, and a State of Glory immediately after Death: For what Occaſion have Souls for a Body that are already eſtabliſhed, and have their Dwelling in the Refulgency of Light divine? You will ſay, perhaps, that the Body may participate

ticipate of the Glory and the Reward, as it was formerly a Partaker of the Calamities which the Soul endured in this Life, or of the good Works which it wrought. You trifle with me: The Soul of every Man is the Man; Νῦς ἐφορᾷ, καὶ νῦς ἐπακούει. *'Tis the Soul that sees, and the Soul that hears.* The Body perceives nothing either of Good or Evil: Matter neither enjoys Pleasure, nor is affected with Grief; turn it which Way you will, and join it to what you will, you will in vain endeavour to crown with Glory a Lump of senseless Clay, or make that the Author of Good or Evil, which is equally void of Understanding and Will. Besides, of so many Bodies which, in the Course of this Life, we wear out, at least every seven Years one, which will you bestow on the Soul, to be the Partner and the Partaker of its Glory, and its Reward? Of what Age shall this Body be? a young or an ancient one, a blooming or a decrepit one? The Body that the Soul shook off the last, or that in which it exceedingly rejoiced and was pleased? and for what Reason will you choose rather the one than the other? The rest will put in their Claims, that they may come in for their Share of the Happiness. If any Person should all his Life-time, lead the Life of a true Christian, now suffering each for the sake of Christ, and now bestowing his Goods in Charity; and this Man at last should go out of the World an old Martyr of eighty Years,

Years, which of this Man's Bodies will you receive into Glory? Muſt we not anſwer as Chriſt did formerly, when he was ask'd, which of all her ſeven Husbands a certain Woman ſhould enjoy in the Reſurrection? *viz. Ye err, not knowing the Scriptures, nor the Power of God.* 'Tis not for the ſake of the Body, but of the Soul, that the Reſurrection is appointed; and God gives to every Soul, as he gives to every Seed, a proper and apt Body, the former being putrify'd in the Earth. *This Tabernacle being diſſolved, we ſhall have a Building from God.* But deferring the reſt of this Matter till anon, let us proceed in what we propoſed. 1 Cor. xv. 37, 38. 2 Cor. v. 1.

We have ſaid that the Force of the Reſurrection is weaken'd by the Suppoſition, that Souls may enjoy ſupreme Felicity before the Arrival of that Day. For St. *Auguſtin* makes a very juſt Enquiry, *What Occaſion there is that the Souls of Men ſhould receive their Bodies upon the Reſurrection, if they are capable of ſupreme Felicity without any Bodies at all?* And, therefore, among the Ancients, and in the firſt Ages of the Church, thoſe Hereticks who deny'd the Reſurrection of the Body, were either the only Perſons who maintain'd the Enjoyment of ſupreme Felicity by the Souls of Men, immediately after they had left their Bodies, or the Perſons who maintain'd it with the greateſt Earneſtneſs, as we ſhall ſhew Gen. ad lit. l. 12. c. 35.

beneath. But who is not ſenſible, that in theſe latter Ages, this new Article of Faith was introduc'd into the *Romiſh* Church, by the politick Deſigns of their crafty Prieſts, that a more commodious Handle might be given to the Invocation of Saints, and other Inſtitutions of that kind, and a powerful Protection to the reſt of thoſe gainful Doctrines that attend upon this new Article? *Bellarmine* has very juſtly obſerved, that this new Doctrine is the Foundation of all the Doctrines that relate to the Saints, *viz.* that relate to the Worſhip of Saints, to the Canonization of Saints, to the Images and the Reliques of Saints; and, laſtly, to the Pilgrimages, and the ſolemn Vows that are made to them. You ſee how weighty a Chain of Silver and Gold this Doctrine draws along with it: To which, if you add Purgatory, or the Condition in which the Souls of Men are, that aſcend not directly to Heaven, but that are ſooner or later carried thither by the Aſſiſtance and Prayers of the living Saints, you have a Mine of Gold more rich and inexhauſtable than any in either *Indies:* But Woe be to all thoſe Wretches, who thus adulterate the Word of God.

De Beat. ſanct. Ord. diſput.

2 Cor. ii. 17.

YET thoſe Men deſerve to be exempted from this Cenſure, who, without any venal Proſpect, comfort the Dying, as if they were immediately to aſcend to Heaven; and to the Enjoyment of ſupreme Felicity. They go from a Priſon to taſte of grateful Liber-

ty;

ty; and the Things that are said to them through a pious Compassion, in order to lessen the Terrors of Death, are not, like so many Articles of Faith, to be explained with Rigour. The Souls of the Righteous, as soon as they depart this Life, are in a Place of Safety, secure from Smart, secure from Pain, and from the Danger of Sinning: And though as yet they enjoy not the external Heavens, and the Kingdom prepared for them from the Foundation of the World; yet have they an hereditary and indefeasible Right to it; and, therefore, they may be said, by an easy Anticipation, to possess it already. We are all of us in haste to take Possession of our Inheritance, and we are carried by a natural Impetuosity to the Enjoyment of that Glory and that Felicity which we so impatiently desire. Many of the first Christians believ'd that the Coming of Christ was even then approaching, as 'tis most evident to me from the Apostolical Epistles, and from the ancient Fathers; and those first Christians, strengthen'd and animated by that Belief, bore Persecution and painful Deaths, with the more undaunted Spirit. But the Course of Years having naturally detected this Error, let us not, I beseech you, fall into another; nor appear endeavouring to pull down the unwilling Heavens to us, and stepping over the Order of the Promotion of the Just, as *Irenæus* expresses it, *seem rather to invade those* Lib. v. c. 31.

Heavens, than to receive them as our Inheritance. At length the Evening of the World is come, Chriſt is at hand, and even at our Doors; we, therefore, want no Conſolation but this: *Behold I come quickly, and bring my Reward along with me, that I may render to every one according to his Works. Amen, even ſo, Lord Jeſus, come. O Death, where is thy Sting? O Grave, where is thy Victory?*

Thus far we are inſtructed by the ſacred Writings concerning the State of the Dead. Beſides, in Matters of Controverſy, to enquire into the Belief of primæval and uncorrupted Antiquity, us'd to be of no inconſiderable Weight with moſt People: For, though we attribute Infallibility to no Mortals in any Age whatever, the Apoſtles alone excepted, neither to the firſt Ages of Chriſtianity, nor to the Middle, nor to the Modern; yet, when as yet the Chriſtian Religion was neither degenerated into Artifice, nor grown up to Empire, Chriſtians with more Simplicity and Sincerity follow'd the naked Truth. It will, therefore, be worth our while, briefly to enquire what was the Opinion of the ancient Chriſtians concerning the immediate Beatitude of the Saints; or concerning the State in which they who depart this Life are, before the Time of the Reſurrection.

The nearer that Rivers are to their Fountains, the more pure and unſoil'd are they; wont

wont to be; and the nearer the Christian Fathers come to the Apostles, or the Apostolick Times, the more approv'd and more unexceptionable Witnesses of orthodox Faith are they esteem'd to be. And, therefore, though I make no doubt but that the *Greek* Fathers, generally speaking, were of our Side in the present Cause, it will be sufficient in this Chapter to enquire into the three first Ages of the Church, in which, if I am not mistaken, you will find neither *Greek* nor *Latin*, unless the Hereticks, and, perhaps, St. *Cyprian* only, who transferred the Souls of the Dead, as soon as ever they had left their Bodies, to the Enjoyment of the beatifick Vision, and the Possession of celestial Glory; I mean, after the same Manner, that in these latter Ages it has been decreed by the *Romish* Church.

THAT this was the Opinion of numerous Hereticks in the first Ages of the Church, who at the same Time deny'd the Resurrection of the Body, is apparent from *Justin Martyr*, *Irenæus*, *Tertullian*, and several others. *Justin Martyr* has these Words in the Dialogue with *Tryphon*: "Never "believe that those can be Christians who "deny the Resurrection of the Body, and "affirm that their Souls, as soon as ever "they die, are carried up into Heaven." M. p. 307. Observe how these two are join'd together by *Justin*, as if there were some Relation between them; at least, the same Hereticks

who deny'd the Reſurrection of the Body, transferr'd their Souls to the Heaven of Heavens, as ſoon as ever they had left their Bodies.

THERE is a Paſſage in *Irenæus* which gives Light to this of St. *Juſtin*; for the former, in the thirty firſt Chapter of his fifth Book, attributes at once both Errors to the Hereticks of that Age. " But be- " cauſe, *ſays he*, ſome of thoſe who are be- " lieved to be orthodox, ſtep over the " Order of the Promotion of the Juſt, and " are ignorant of the Means of meditating " on Incorruptibility, being poſſeſſed with " an heretical Spirit. —— For the Hereticks " beholding on every Side the wonderful " Workmanſhip of God; yet not looking " up to the Salvation of their Bodies, but " contemning the Promiſe of God, ſay, *that*, " *as ſoon as ever they ſhall die, they ſhall im-* " *mediately aſcend up to Heaven, and to the* " *Creator of all Things, and ſhall go to the* " *Mother, or to him whom they pretend to be* " *the Father.* — What Wonder then is it, if " they who believe no Reſurrection at all, " ſhould be ignorant of the Order of it? " Thoſe Perſons are willfully blind; for, " if what they affirm were true, then cer- " tainly our Lord, in whom they ſay they " believe, had never riſen again the third " Day, but, expiring on the Croſs, had im- " mediately gone up to Heaven, leaving " his Body below, *&c.*" This is certainly evident

evident from the primitive Fathers, and from the other Authors who have writ about Heresies, that the antient Hereticks, the *Gnosticks*, the *Basilians*, the *Valentinians*, the *Marcionites*, and the rest of that Rabble, were the first Authors, and the first Maintainers of the Opinion which we refute.

In the mean Time we have seen the Opinion both of *Justin* and *Irenæus*, with Relation to this Argument. You see that they do not immediately thrust Souls up to Heaven, and to the Seats of Glory, while they are yet warm, from the Body. *Justin* likewise testifies the same Thing in another Place, that is, in his Dialogue with *Tryphon*. " The Souls of the Righteous after M.p.223.
" their Deaths, are in a better Mansion than
" they were before it; but the Unrighteous
" and Wicked in a worse, waiting till the
" Time of Judgement comes at length."
Irenæus likewise proves the same Opinion at Length, even to the End of the Chapter which we but now quoted. " If, therefore, *says*
" *he*, our Lord observed the Law of the
" Dead, that he might become the First-
" born from the Dead; and having staid
" even to the third Day in the inward Parts
" of the Earth, then rising in the Flesh,
" that he might shew the Marks of the
" Nails to his Disciples, ascended thus to
" the Father; how can it be but that they
" must be confounded, who assert that Hell,
" or *Hades*, is the World in which we dwell;

" but that their inward Man, as ſoon as it " leaves their Body, ſhall aſcend up to a " Place above the higheſt Heaven? For " ſince the Lord, in the Midſt of the Sha- " dow of Death, departed to the Place " where the Souls of the Dead were, and " after that corporeally roſe again, and after " his Reſurrection was taken up into Hea- " ven; 'tis manifeſt, that for that Reaſon the " Souls of his Diſciples, for whoſe ſake the " Lord perform'd all this, ſhall likewiſe, af- " ter their Deaths, go into an inviſible Place " which God has prepar'd and preordain'd " for them; and ſhall there remain till the " Time of the Reſurrection, and there wait- " ing for the Reſurrection; and after that " receiving Bodies, and perfectly, that is, " corporeally riſing again, as the Lord him- " ſelf roſe again, ſhall thus be brought to " the Enjoyment of the Sight of God." *

TERTULLIAN, in the forty fifth Chapter of his *Treatiſe of the Soul* has ſomething like the foreſaid Explication of *Irenæus*, taken from the Example of Chriſt; which Places illuſtrate and confirm each other reciprocally.

" FOR, *ſays he*, if Chriſt, who was God " as well as Man, being dead, according to " the

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* *Andreas*, a *Cretenſian* Archbiſhop, has ſomething very like this in his Diſcourſe upon human Life, and the Dead. But he, I believe, was of the ſixth Century. The Diſcouſe was printed at *Leyden*, in 1619. in *Quarto* BB. Ox.

" the Scriptures, and buried, according " to the ſame, paid exact Obedience to " this Law, deſcending formally like the " Souls of Men into the lower Parts of the " Earth; nor aſcended into the Heaven of " Heavens, before he deſcended into the " lower Parts of the Earth, that there he " might bleſs the Patriarchs and Prophets " with the Sight which they had ſo long de- " ſir'd; you have Reaſon from this to be- " lieve the foreſaid ſubterranean Region, " and to inſult thoſe who are ſo fooliſhly " proud, as to believe the Souls of the " Faithful too good for the foreſaid ſubter- " ranean Region; Servants more proud than " their Lord, and Diſciples more haughty than " their Maſter, if they diſdain to be comforted " in the Boſom of *Abraham*, by the certain " Hope and Expectation of a glorious Reſur- " rection." Then he ſays in plainer Terms below in the ſame Chapter: " Heaven can " be open to none, ſo long as Earth remains " entire, and, as one may ſay, ſhut up; " for the Deſtruction of the Earth alone, " can open the Gates of Heaven to us." And at the End of the ſame Chapter, quoting his own *Treatiſe of Paradiſe*, the Loſs of which has been no little Loſs to us, he ſays, " That it was his Opinion, that every " Soul was ſequeſter'd in that infernal Re- " gion againſt the Day of the Lord." And in ſeveral Paſſages of this Treatiſe of the Soul, he repeats the ſame Thing, though C. xlvii.

in

in other Words. Nor does he ſay leſs in other Places, as in his *Apologetick*: "And "if at any Time we mention Paradiſe, a "Place of divine Delightfulneſs, prepared "for the Reception of the Souls of the "Righteous, at the ſame Time we mean "not Heaven." And in the fourth Book againſt *Marcion*: "That Region I call C. xxxiv. "*Abraham*'s Boſom; a Place, though not of "celeſtial Height, yet higher than the infer-"nal Region which we mention'd before, "adapted to afford Refreſhment to the Souls "of the Righteous, till the Conſummation "of all Things compleats the Fulneſs of "their Reward, in conſequence of their "Reſurrection." You may ſee more like this, if you pleaſe to conſult his *Treatiſe of the Reſurrection of the Fleſh*, Chap. xxiii. But we need ſay no more of *Tertullian*, ſince no Body doubts of his Opinion concerning the Point in Queſtion.

ORIGEN, concerning the Souls of the Saints, is of the ſame Opinion with the Fathers, as well of the Old, as of the New Teſtament, whom I mentioned above. He gives them an inferior Degree of Happineſs till the Time of the Reſurrection. You will find his Opinion in his ſeventh Homily upon *Leviticus*, in the following Words: "For even the Apoſtles themſelves have not "hitherto obtained their Fulneſs of Joy; "but they are ſtill in Expectation, that I "may become a Partaker of their Felicity."

And

And he proves this by the Authority of St. *Paul*, the great Inſtructor of the *Gentiles*, in the 11th Chapter to the *Hebrews*, and adds, " You ſee, therefore, that *Abra-*
" *ham* ſtill waits, expecting to obtain
" Perfection : *Iſaac* and *Jacob* expect the
" ſame Thing, and all the awful Society of
" the Prophets expects us, that, together
" with us, they may receive complete Fe-
" licity."

TOWARDS the End of the third Century, *Victorinus* the Martyr and *Lactantius* liv'd, who were both Maintainers of our Cauſe. The Words of *Lactantius*, in the ſeventh Book of his Inſtitutions are known:
" Nor let any one believe that the Souls of Sect. xxi.
" the Dead ſhall immediately be brought to
" Judgment : For all of them are detain'd
" in one common Cuſtody, till the Time
" ſhall come when the Sovereign Judge of
" the World ſhall examine all their Merits ;
" then they whoſe Righteouſneſs ſhall be
" approv'd of, ſhall receive the Reward of a
" bliſsful Immortality." In like Manner *Victorinus*, upon *Revel.* vi. 9. concerning the Souls that are under the Altar, after he had obſerved that the external Altar, not the internal, that is Heaven, was to be underſtood here, there 'tis his Opinion, that the Souls muſt attend till the Coming of the Laſt Day, the Day of the Diſtribution of Rewards and Puniſhments. " But be-
" cauſe, *ſays he*, in that laſt Time the Saints
" will

" will find a perpetual Recompence, and the " Wicked perpetual Damnation, therefore " they are commanded to WAIT ; and for " their bodily Comfort, they have received, " *ſays he*, white Garments, that is, the " Gift of the Holy Ghoſt."

BESIDES, when ſeveral of the moſt antient Fathers, if not, indeed, all of them, were of Opinion that the Souls of Men, after their Deaths, deſcended to *Hades*, they declared by that, that it was their Opinion, that they were not immediately to be carried up to the Heaven of Heavens, and to the Enjoyment of ſupreme Glory : For though *Hades*, with relation to ſeparate Souls, as well the Juſt as Unjuſt, is of a large Signification, yet none of them ever ſaid that any of the Souls that deſcended thither, enjoy'd the beatifick Viſion there. Since then the antient Fathers placed all the Souls that had left their Bodies there, they by that exclude them all, as long as they remain there, from the Felicity of that glorious Viſion. We have now done with *Juſtin*, *Irenæus*, and *Tertullian*, having ſhewn that from the Deſcent of Chriſt to *Hades*, they proved that all the Souls of Men muſt deſcend thither, *ſince the Diſciple*, ſay they, *is not above his Maſter*. And from this very Argument reverſed, *Macarius*, Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, explaining the Incarnation of Chriſt to a Philoſopher in the *Nicene* Council, ſhews, that he deſcended to *Hades*, that he

Gelaſ. Cyzin. de Conc Nic. l. 1. c. 23.

he might be in all Things like unto us. *As we were all of us carried after Death to* Hades, *he accepted of this Condition, and voluntarily went to the ſame Place.* From whence he ſays, that he made the ſame Reſurrection from Death that we did. And he afterwards adds to this, and the other Things that are mentioned in the ſame Chapter, *viz. This is the apoſtolical and unblameable Faith of the Church.* And what *Euſtathius* the Patriarch of *Antioch*, ſays in *Theodoret*, upon that Paſſage of the Pſalmiſt, *Thou wilt not leave my Soul in* Hades, has a Relation to this, where he calls *Hades* the Place that was the Receptacle of human Souls, and where he proves that the Soul of Chriſt was truly a human Soul, becauſe that, as well in this Life, as in the other, it underwent the common Fate of Humanity: *But the Soul of Jeſus had a Tryal of both States: For he was in the Place of human Souls, and being without Fleſh lived and exiſted, his rational (Part) Soul, being like to the Souls of Men.* Laſtly, in the old Fragment concerning the *Cauſe of all Things*, whether the Author of it be *Caius*, or ſome other very antient Chriſtian, 'tis more than once aſſerted, that the Souls both of the Righteous and of the Wicked are retain'd in Hades. Thus he begins: *And this is the Diſcourſe concerning the Angels; but of Hades, in which the Spirits of the Juſt and Unjuſt are detain'd, it is neceſſary to ſpeak.* And thus he afterwards

In Dial. i.

In Not. Hœſchel, ad Phot.

wards distinguishes their several Mansions: *The Just, indeed, are now detain'd in Hades, but not in the same Place where the Unjust are; for there is one Entrance to this Place, of which the Gate*, &c. where he places Angels as so many Guards, who separate the Souls as they enter, and either send or conduct them severally to the Seat they deserve, to the Region that is fitting for them, to the Place that is due to them. Lastly, he affirms, that they remain there till the Time of the Resurrection. *This is the Discourse concerning Hades, in which the Souls of Men are retained till the Time preordain'd by God, who when that comes, will raise them up all together.*

Thus have we these Authors, who lived before the End of the third Century, as Witnesses of the primitive Doctrine of the Church concerning the Souls in Hades: To which we may add two *Cæsarean* Bishops, I believe of a later, but of a very uncertain Age: I mean *Andrew*, and *Arathas*, who from the Commentaries of *Andrew* upon the *Revelations*, collected those which he purloin'd himself. And thus they both of them write. *Death is the Separation of the Soul and the Body; but Hades is the Country to us invisible, that flies from our Enquiry, and hides itself from our Knowledge, and that receives our Souls as soon as they depart from our Bodies.* Lastly, the forementioned Bishops, concerning the Souls that cry from under

under the Altar in the sixth Chapter of the *Revelations*, confirm the same Things, and are utterly and entirely averse to the *Romish* Opinion concerning the beatifick Vision, as appears by the following Passage. *'Tis for this Reason that the Saints are seen to desire with Impatience the Consummation of the World, because they are commanded to wait till then, and to bear the Delay till the Death of all their Brethren, that they may not, according to the divine Apostle, be made perfect before them. In the mean Time the white Garments, which they have on, intimate the Splendor of those Virtues, which in them shine so illustriously; with which being surrounded, though they have not as yet obtained the Performance of the Promises, yet the very Hope of that Happiness, which they view with a spiritual Eye, causes them justly to rejoice; especially since, in the mean Time, they are freed from the Defilement of Matter, and in the Bosom of* Abraham, *free from all Disturbance, take their pleasing and their lasting Repose: For many of the Saints are of Opinion, that every one who in his Life-time has endeavoured with all his Power to improve himself in Virtue, shall find after Death a Place that is worthy of his Actions; from whence they may make a certain Conjecture at the Glory that is prepared for them.* And thus much concerning Hades, according to what the most antient Authors have

have ſaid of it, which they agreed to be the common Receptacle of departed Souls, even till the Reſurrection.

LASTLY, to confirm the Truth of every Thing that has been ſaid, 'tis worth our while to conſider with what Modeſty, with what Moderation, the bleſſed Martyr *Polycarpe*, *Clemens Romanus*, and *Ignatius*, have ſpoke of the Reſidence and the State of the Saints, from the Time of their Death to the Time of their Reſurrection. They aſſert not, that they are immediately received into the higheſt Heaven, to the Enjoyment of the beatifick Viſion; but, ſays *Polycarpe*, In Epiſt. ſua ad Phil. εἰς τόπον αὐτοῖς ὀφειλόμενον, *to a Place appointed for them, their own Place that is due to them*, or *that is proper for them*; or* εἰς τὸν ἅγιον τόπον, *into a holy Station*, as *Clemens Romanus* ſaid of St. *Paul*, ἕτως ἀπηλλάγη τοῦ κόσμου, καὶ τὸν εἰς ἅγιον τόπον ἐπορεύθη, *ſo he left the World and went to a ſacred* Art. li. *Place*. He afterwards calls that χῶραν εὐσεβῶν, *the Place of the Righteous*, in the ſame Epiſtle. But that Paſſage principally deſerves our Conſideration, where he ſays, that all from *Adam* to this Day, who have died perfected in Charity and Virtue, reſt in the Regions of the Good, as in their proper Repoſitories,

* They were not receiv'd up into Heaven or Glory, but into a Place that was due to them, ſays *Clemens*, *Ep.* c. v. *Le Clerc* quotes him on Matt. xvii. 18.

positories, 'till on the Coming of Christ at the Day of the Resurrection, they shall be brought forth into open Light. *All the Ages of the World, from* Adam *even unto this Day, are passed away: But they who have been made perfect in Love, have by the Grace of God, obtain'd a Place among the Righteous; and shall be made manifest in the Judgment of the Kingdom of Christ. For it is written,* Enter into thy Chambers for a little Space, till my Anger and Indignation shall pass away: And I will remember the good Day, and will raise you up out of your Graves. All these Things agree exactly with the Opinion I am contending for: And the same Place that *Justin* calls χῶραν εὐσεβῶν, *the Place of the Righteous*, *Clemens* terms, χῶρον κρείττονα, *a better Place*, and others, χώρας ἀξίας, or τόπους ἀξίους, *fit Places;* and what *Polycarp* phrases τόπον αὐτοῖς ὀφειλόμενον, *a Place appointed for them*, *Ignatius* calls τόπον ἴδιον, *their proper Place*; what *Clemens* calls τόπον ἅγιον, *the holy Place*, *Chrysostome* calls ἱερὰ πρόθυρα, *the sacred Gates*. These Things agree perfectly well together, and answer exactly to that Temperament, in which the sacred Writings tell us, that the Souls of departed Saints enjoy Felicity before the Resurrection. Thus when Christ speaks of the State of the Righteous, who are at Rest in the Bosom of *Abraham*, he calls that Rest παράκλησιν, a *Comfort* only, and not a supreme Glory; which

Isa. xxvi. 20.

Luc. xvi. 25.

in other Places of Scripture is call'd Repoſe and Relaxation, and is compared to a pleaſing Slumber. Behold here the Style of the holy Spirit, and of the apoſtolick Writers! Behold, on the other Side, the Style of the *Romiſh* Church! that tells us that the Souls of Saints, after they leave the Body, are immediately taken up into Heaven, and there clearly ſee God, as he is in Trinity and in Unity! Good God! from whence have they taken this Doctrine? from what Book of the ſacred Scriptures? or from what Remains of the primitive Church? When Chriſt was about to die, he ſaid to his Diſciples, *I go to prepare a Place for you; and if I go to prepare a Place for you, I will return, and take you to myſelf, that where I am, there ye may alſo be.* You ſee, therefore, that this glorious Place, this Place prepared for them by Chriſt, is not to be poſſeſſed before the Coming of Chriſt; and that then, at laſt, according to his Prayer to the Father, the Saints ſhall dwell together with Chriſt, and ſhall behold his Glory. *I ſhall be ſatisfy'd, O Lord, when I awake, with the Sight of thy Countenance.*

John xiv. 23.

John xvii. 24. Pſ. xvii. 15.

BESIDES, it is agreeable neither to Scripture, nor to the Light of Nature, either to exact extreme Puniſhments, or to expect ſupreme Rewards, before the Matter is brought to Judgment, and the Merits of the Cauſe are known. But the Scripture makes Mention of no Judgment before the End of the World.

World. *That is the Day in which God will judge the World by Christ.* Then at last, *Every one's Work shall be tried.* Then, *Every one shall receive according to what he has done in the Body.* Then, *The Thrones will be placed, then the Books will be open'd, and every Man will be judged according to his Works.* Then the Just will be separated from the Unjust, the Sheep from the Goats; those being placed on the Right, and these on the Left, and both of them receive their Sentence. All this we have been taught by the Mouth of Christ himself: But *when the Son of Man shall come in his Glory, and all the Holy Angels with him, then shall he sit on the Throne of his Glory; and before him shall be gathered all Nations: And he shall separate them one from another, as a Shepherd divideth his Sheep from the Goats: And he shall set the Sheep on his Right Hand, but the Goats on his Left. Then shall the King say unto them on his Right Hand, Come ye Blessed of my Father, inherit the Kingdom prepared for you, from the Foundation of the World. Then shall he say also to them on the Left Hand, Depart from me ye Cursed into everlasting Fire, prepared for the Devil and his Angels.* So that here you have the Time of Judgment and likewise the Manner of it, and the Sentence that is given in order to the Execution. And all these Things shall be when the Son of Man shall come.

Act. xvii. 31. 1 Cor. iii. 13, 14, 15. 2 Cor. v. 10. Apoc. xx. 11, 12, 13. Mat. xxv. 31, 32, *&c.*

But all this, you will ſay, is to be underſtood of a general Judgment: But there is beſides a private and particular Judgment, which is appointed to be immediately after every Man's Death? and which is paſſed upon every Soul as ſoon as it leaves its Body. Pray, if you pleaſe, let me know the Places of Scripture that teſtify this; let me ſee the Validity of them; and whether, or not, they clearly prove a private and particular Judgment before the laſt ſolemn one? The Paſſages that we have quoted are plain, and clearer than the Light itſelf; nor do they give us the leaſt Hint of a previous Judgment, but rather exclude it. Now in Things that depend upon the Will of God, and upon divine Revelation, we ought not at Pleaſure to invent a new Order, and a new Diſpenſation of Things, only to ſerve an Hypotheſis. This, indeed, we may juſtly ſay, that every Soul, when it leaves the Body, undergoes a private and a ſilent Judgment, as far as 'tis conſcious to itſelf of a Life ill ſpent, or ſpent in Virtue; and carries in itſelf its own Witneſs, and its own Sentence; and, according as 'tis by this diſpoſed and affected, feels the Deity angry with it, or propitious to it; and has, as it were, a near and a clear View of its impending Fate. But all this paſſes in the Soul itſelf, and and has no external Influence: The Soul in the mean Time remains in the ſame Place,

and

and the ſame State and Habitude even till the Reſurrection.*

WE obſerved before that the *Romiſh* Church by thus anticipating the Glory of the Saints, makes the Reſurrection to be of no Validity or Utility; nor does it leſs, by the ſame Anticipation, make the general Judgment ſuperfluous. For if every Individual has been already judged according to his Works; if the Juſt are already ſeparated from the Unjuſt; and the Juſt are already bleſt in the Enjoyment of Heaven, and of the raviſhing Sight of God, while the others groan under inſupportable Torments, both from without and within, what Room is there for a future Judgment? why the ſame Thing over again? why is a Cauſe, that has been already determined, brought a ſecond Time to a Hearing? What, is it brought to a Rehearing, leaſt there ſhould have been an Error in the firſt Determination? or are the Damn'd to appeal to ſome ſuperior Judge? Not ſo; you'll ſay, but that the Juſtice and Equity of a Sentence privately given, may

* Nor yet can any one believe that Souls come to Judgment immediately after Death. For they are all of them in one common Cuſtody, detain'd till the Time ſhall come, in which the Sovereign Judge ſhall inquire into their Merits. *Lib.* vii. *Cap.* xxi. *p.* 653. *Lactantii.* *Genebrardus* too is quoted enumerating many of the Fathers, who did not believe that Souls would enjoy the beatifick Viſion before the Reſurrection; who at the ſame Time excuſes Pope *John* XXII. *Gaſſend. de Animorum Immort. Tom.* ii. *M. p.* 654. *col.* ii. *ult.*

be apparent to all the World. Right, if the Party aggrieved brought any Complaint: But you ſuppoſe that all the Damn'd are ſelf-convicted, and ſuffer by their own Sentence; and it ſeems ſomething of the lateſt to enquire into the Juſtice of their Puniſhments, after they have groan'd under them for ſeveral Ages. Nor is it leſs abſurd, on the other Side, to enquire into their Right, who can plead Preſcription for the Enjoyment of Heaven, by the Poſſeſſion not only of one Age, but, perhaps, of a thouſand Years.

But that from the laſt Judgment we may return to the Reſurrection; it will be worth our while to enquire of what Advantage the Reſurrection can be to us, according to the Popiſh Theology. They affirm that the Beatitude of Souls will not be more intenſe after the Reſurrection, than it is before it; and take it for a Thing determined, that the Glory of the Bleſt will receive no Augmentation from the Reſurrection, unleſs extenſively, as they expreſs themſelves, but not intenſively; or accidentally, but not in itſelf. *For*, ſay they, *the Soul continues to enjoy the ſame beatifick Viſion, the ſame Light, the ſame Glory, the ſame Perfection of its own Operations, in fine, the ſame Happineſs within itſelf, with which it was bleſt before the Reſurrection.* How inconſiderable an Acceſſion of Happineſs, according to theſe Divines, accrues to us from the Reſurrection? How ill do they agree with St. *Paul?*

Bellarm. *de beat. ſanct. c.* ii. & v.

1 Cor. x.

Is

Is that so small an Addition of Happiness, which the Resurrection brings with it, that without it the blessed Apostle would pronounce us to be *of all Men the most miserable ?* that without it, he would value the Immortality of the Soul as nothing ? that without it, he should believe that we have no Hope but in this Life alone ? lastly, that without it he should believe all previous Beatitudes, be it what it will, even the Sight of God himself, not so much as worth the naming ? From this alone the Apostle expects his Reward, from this his Crown of Glory. 'Tis from this that he principally comforts others against the Power of Death, or any other formidable Evils. Lastly, what the Apostle calls an eternal Weight of Glory, that they speak of only as an inconsiderable Over-weight ; and what St. *Peter* calls a Crown of Glory, that will never wither, never decay, of that they are pleas'd to make not the greatest or the principal Part, but a little Addition of Glory. Lastly, Christ himself teaches us, that the Redemption of the Saints will not draw near, and is not to be expected before the End of the World : Nor does he promise any Retribution before the Resurrection of the Just. So great is the Distance in this Matter, between the Doctrine of the Gospel, and the Decrees of the *Romish* Church. Thus, what the Apostles, what the blessed Martyrs, what the antient Fathers of the Church, all of

Vid. Chrys. in loc.

Ver. 30, 31, 32, 2 Tim. iv. 8.

1 Thess. iv. 13, 14. Rom. viii. 18, 23. 2 Cor. iv. 17, *&c.* ver. 1. 1 Pet. v. 4.

Luke xvi. 28. xiv. 14.

them accounted the greateſt Promiſe of the Goſpel, the very Foundation of the Chriſtian Faith, and the chief Anchor of our Hope, that, by their Decrees, becomes only a Thing not utterly vain, unuſeful, and ſuperfluous.

WHAT Occaſion is there for more? Chriſt purchaſed this Return of Life for us, this Renovation of Hope, at no leſs a Price than that of his own ineſtimable Blood, and confirm'd it by his own Reſurrection. And whatever does not riſe again, he accounts as loſt in that ſacred Diſcourſe, as afterwards St. *Paul* did in his Diſcourſe to the *Corinthians*, upon the ſame Argument. This is the Myſtery full of Wonder, the Work of divine Virtue, our Victory and our Triumph by his Death derived to us: This is the *Ne-plus-ultra* of our Perfection, towards which we all ſtrenuouſly tend, to which we all aſpire. Nor can the moſt ambitious of our Deſires ſoar to a greater Height, nor wiſh for a farther Progreſs. Then we ſhall be like to the bleſſed Angels, cloathed with that glorious Light which they are cloathed, and perpetually beholding the ſame God, which they perpetually behold.

Heb. ii. 14, 15. 2 Tim. i. 10. 1 Pet. i. 3. & 21. Joh. vi. 39, &c. Phil. iii 10.

FROM what we have hitherto ſaid, it appears to me to be manifeſt, as well from the ſacred Writings, as from the Teſtimonies of the moſt antient Fathers, that the Beatitude of the Saints depends ſolely or chiefly upon the Reſurrection; and that that Height of Per-

Perfection, that Height of Felicity, and of Glory, which is commonly known by the Name of the beatifick Vision, is not imparted to human Souls before the Day of Judgment, and the Coming of our Lord. But yet if this Cause were to be determin'd by the Number of Witnesses, it would be easy to add to these Fathers of the first Ages, those of the Fourth, and afterwards those of lower Centuries. But the Force of the sacred Writings which alone is sufficient, would be but obscur'd and hid by too great an Attendance. And therefore I shall separately, by Way of Appendix, mark several of the more manifest Passages relating to the same Argument, from the Authors of the following Age, which every one may either consult or omit, according to his Leisure or to his Inclination.

APPENDIX.

THE Author of the *Questions and Answers to the Orthodox*, whom we find in *Justin Martyr*, is believed to have lived in the fourth Century, who is exactly of the same Opinion with *Justin*, concerning the State of the Dead before the Resurrection: For discoursing concerning the Time of Retribution, (Answer to Question 60.) he has these Words: *No one before the Resurrection is rewarded or punished, according to the Actions which he did in his Life-time.* Then answering the Objection con-

See this m. discussed. Gerard. de mort. Tom. viii. p. 396, 397

concerning the Thief, who was carried directly to Paradiſe, he opens his Mind more fully in theſe Words: (*Queſt. & Reſponſ.* 76.) *This was the Advantage that the Thief received from his Entrance into Paradiſe, that he actually received by it the Benefit of his Faith, through which he was reputed worthy to be join'd to the Aſſembly of Saints, among them to remain till the Day ſhould come of Reſurrection and Recompence.*

St. *Chryſoſtome* thought ſo highly of the Reſurrection, that without that he entertained but a mean Opinion of the Immortality of the Soul, and reckons all the Advantages that the Saints poſſeſſed before that, but as a very inconſiderable Part of their Recompence and Felicity. Be pleaſed to conſult him upon the fifteenth Chapter of the firſt Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, where upon theſe Words of St. *Paul*, *If our Hope was only in this Life, we were of all Men the moſt miſerable*, he ſays thus: *What is it that the Apoſtle ſays? Why, unleſs the Body riſes again, have we only Hope in this Life, notwithſtanding that the Soul remains, and remains immortal?* And thus he anſwers himſelf: *Though the Soul remains, and were yet a thouſand Times, if it were poſſible, more immortal than it is; yet never could it without the Body receive thoſe ineffable Advantages: And, therefore, the Soul before the Body riſes, can neither be puniſhed nor rewarded: For all Things will be laid*

open

open before the Tribunal of Christ, that every one may receive in his Body the Recompence of the Things which he did in his Body, whether they are good, or whether they are evil. And therefore, says the Apostle, if in this Life only we had Hope in Christ, we were of all Men the most miserable. *For unless the Body rises again, the Soul remains without its Recompence, and without that supreme Felicity which is enjoy'd above in the Heavens.*

AND thus St. *Chrysostome* expresses his Opinion clearly, and by Examples and Similitudes confirms it in other Places, *viz.* upon that Saying of the Apostle to the *Hebrews*, Chap. xi. 40. *These have not receiv'd their Reward, that without us they might not be made perfect.* The Words of St. *Chrysostome* are as follow: *What! have not they received their Reward, but are still kept in Expectation? What! have not they yet received their Reward, who died as they did, in so much Tribulation, in so much Affliction? Have so many Ages passed since they conquered, and have they yet not triumphed? And do you impatiently brook Delays, though your Contention is not over? Do you consider of what vast Importance it is, that* Abraham *and St.* Paul *have not yet received their Reward, but wait till you shall be made perfect, that they may receive it together with you?* He afterwards proceeds in working up the same Argument, and

and declares, that *Abel* the Protomartyr, and *Noah* the Preacher of Righteousness, both to the Antediluvian World and ours, will not be crown'd before we are: *For he has appointed one and the same Time for all to receive their Crowns.* Till that Time, he sometimes names for Seats to the Souls of the Righteous, ἱερὰ πρόθυρα, *the holy Gate*, but oftener the Bosom of *Abraham.* See at your Leisure his twenty-fourth *Homily upon the first Epistle to the* Corinthians, and the fortieth *Homily upon* Genesis; where he says, that it is the principal Ambition, and the only Wish of all the Righteous, from the Times of *Abraham* to the End of the World, that in his Bosom they may find Rest to their Souls. But by the Bosom of *Abraham*, as you know very well, is not meant supreme Glory, or the Felicity that the Angels enjoy in Heaven. Lastly, all these Things are confirmed in St. *Chrysostome*'s first Sermon concerning the Resurrection; where he refers all our Hope, and all the Retribution which we expect, to the Day of the Coming of our Lord: Nor does he give us the least Ground to believe, that before that Day we shall find any Reward, except that which arises in this Life, from our very Contention for Victory, and from the exercising ourselves in Virtue, and in Christian Constancy, by which the Soul acquires more Fortitude, and, that I may use his own Expression, a more philosophical Temper:

For

For as Wreſtlers, ſays he, *by contending for Victory become more nervous, and more robuſt; ſo from our Contention in Virtue, we ſhall reap this great Reward; that our Souls will become more firm and philoſophical, even before the Heavens are open'd to us, before the Coming of the Son of God, and before we receive the Recompence which we contend for.*

THESE Paſſages have we quoted from St. *Chryſoſtome*, concerning the State and Felicity of the Saints before the Reſurrection. But you will ſay, perhaps, that ſometimes the ſame Father ſpoke more freely and more ſublimely of this intermediate Felicity. That, indeed, may very well be; for Orators, ſometimes, when they come to conclude, are apt to grow ſomething warm, nor ſcrupulouſly weigh in the Balance every Word that proceeds from them; and when they are endeavouring to give Ornament to popular Harangues, or to funeral Orations, there are ſeveral Reaſons which in their Concluſion may incite them to exaggerate the Felicity of thoſe who are dead in the Lord, but not one that may incline them to diminiſh it, except their Conſciouſneſs of the Truth alone. This Method might be of great Advantage to comfort, and exalt, and raiſe up the Soul againſt the Influence and Power of Death, eſpecially the Death of Martyrdom. To ſpeak warmly and freely of the Happineſs that the Saints are to enjoy immediately

mediately after their Deaths, would be of great Uſe in exciting Mens Affections, and confirming their Piety: But it could be ſerviceable to no Deſign, nor to any View or Uſe whatſoever, to repreſent it more coldly or more lightly than is convenient. And, therefore, in order to diſcover the Truth, and the real Opinion of every Author who has writ upon this Subject, one Place alone, that confines this Felicity within the Bounds that we have preſcrib'd to it, is of more Validity than many of thoſe which with Paſſion exalt it, and more highly extol it. It has been juſtly obſerved by others, *That every Word of a Preacher is not to be underſtood by the Reader with the ſame Rigour, with which it at firſt entered into the Ear of the Hearer: For Perſons while they declaim, deliver, and inculcate ſeveral Things hyperbolically, as the Place, the Time, or the Audience give Occaſion, or as they are tranſported by the Force of their Paſſions, or inflamed by the Currency of their Diſcourſe.* This is moſt prudently, and moſt judiciouſly obſerved, and ought certainly to be of chief Conſideration in the preſent Argument.

Six. Sen.

Let us not wonder then if ſacred Orators mov'd, either by their Affection for the Dead, or a Deſign of comforting and ſoothing the Living, have uſed a ſofter and leſs rigorous Style, and have talked of an immediate Poſſeſſion of Heaven, and of ſeeing God as

he

he is. The Word *Heaven* taken in a larger Senſe may ſignify any happy Condition of Souls, after their Departure from their Bodies; which yet is more uſually by the Fathers called *Paradiſe*, or *Abraham's Boſom*, and which ſignifies an intermediate State of Beatitude, and inferior to the Celeſtial. *By Paradiſe*, ſays St. *Auſtin*, *is generally meant a Place where the Inhabitants live happily.* And that too is the general Notion or Signification of Heaven. The Saints, indeed, enjoy a ſort of internal Heaven immediately after their Deaths; but without their Bodies cannot enjoy the external one. Then the Sight of God, or of Chriſt, or the divine Preſence, of which *Chryſoſtome* ſomewhere makes Mention, can be no other than intellectual before the Reſurrection. The Soul, indeed, in that ſeparate State will be nearer to God than it is in this Priſon of the Body, and will feel his Influence more intimately within itſelf, and more preſent and efficacious, than if it was before him, and in his very Sight. But by theſe, or the like, to underſtand ſupreme Felicity, or the moſt glorious Viſion of God, is to make this Father moſt apparently contradict himſelf. In reading Authors, whether ſacred or others, this has been wont to be obſerved as a Rule, to interpret Things that are cloudy by thoſe that are clear, and Things that are vulgarly and popularly ſpoke, by thoſe that are more exact and ſevere; and the

Epiſt. 57. & de Gen. ad lit. l. 12. c. 34.

the Obſervation of this Rule will, in a good Meaſure, keep us from erring. Laſtly, that we have truly explain'd the Words and the Senſe of St. *Chryſoſtome*, may be concluded from hence, that the other Interpreters, and the *Grecian* Fathers, who were the greateſt Followers of *Chryſoſtome*, as *Theodoret*, *Oecomenius*, *Theophylact*, and *Euthymius*, eſpouſed the ſame Opinion * that we do. *Theodoret* explains his Opinion in the ſame Place that St. *Chryſoſtome* had done it before him, *viz.* upon the laſt Verſes of the eleventh Chapter to the *Hebrews*, where he aſſerts, that none of the Righteous are ſooner rewarded than others, or enjoy their Crown of Glory ſooner, but that all will at once in the Reſurrection be declared Victors by God together. And upon theſe Words of the Apoſtle, *And theſe all having obtain'd a good Report through Faith, received not the Promiſe, God having provided ſome better Thing for us, that they without us ſhould not be made perfect*, he ſays thus: *Were their Conflicts for Victory then ſo great and ſo many, and they have not yet received their Crowns? For God expects till the Conflicts and Contentions of all are over, that all who have obtain'd the Victory, may be together declared Conquerors by him,*

* See more Fathers of this Opinion in *Not. Cortholt. Juſtin.* xliv. *Col.* 1, & 2.

him, and be rewarded together. Nor does *OEcumenius* underſtand in any other Senſe that Saying of the Apoſtle, and that Account of thoſe antient Heroes who were ſo renowned for their Faith. *They,* ſays the Apoſtle, *ſit down without their Recompence, expecing our Miniſtration,* or Coming. For ſo *Theophylact* upon the Place; *All thoſe that are accounted Saints, though they have a Teſtimony that they were pleaſing to God by their Faith, have not yet obtain'd that celeſtial Felicity which they were promiſed.* And upon the following Verſe, he adds ſeveral other Things of the ſame kind, which he has almoſt Word for Word tranſcrib'd from St. *Chryſoſtome.* Laſtly, this Author maintains the ſame Opinion, in what he ſays upon the twenty-third Chapter of St. *Luke*, where he explains the Saying of Chriſt to the Thief, *To Day ſhalt thou be with me in Paradiſe:* For when he had before diſtinguiſhed Paradiſe from Heaven, and had by that means reconcil'd the Evangeliſt with St. *Paul*, in the Paſſage quoted above, he adds; *The Thief therefore, though he obtain'd Paradiſe, obtain'd not the Kingdom of Heaven; but he will be let into that too with all thoſe others that are enumerated by St.* Paul: *In the mean while he has Poſſeſſion of Paradiſe, the Kingdom of Spiritual Reſt.* The Explication of the ſame Paſſage by *Euthymius*, is exactly of a Piece with this, as appears by the following Quotation

from him : *Christ, knowing the Intention of the Thief, promised him what appeared most desirable to him : For the Thief was acquainted with Paradise by the* Mosaick *Doctrine ; and Christ promised that he should be with him in Paradise, as an Earnest, that he should be one Day with him in his Kingdom, where he should enjoy eternal and inexpressible Happiness ; where he should enjoy such Things as neither Eye has seen, nor Ear has heard, nor has it enter'd into the Heart of Man to conceive : For none of the Just, as yet, has had the Performance of the Promises, as the great Apostle of the* Gentiles *has taught us : For Christ by granting him what he did, gave him Assurance that in the Time of the universal Resurrection, he would grant him a Place in his Kingdom.* But so much for St. *Chrysostome*, and his *Grecian* Disciples and Followers.

Among the *Latin* Fathers, who are likewise of the same Century, (*viz.* Fourth,) you may consult, if you please, about the State of the Dead, St. *Hilary*, St. *Ambrose*, and St. *Austin*. St. *Hilary*, in his *Commentaries on the Psalms*, has often touched upon this Subject, and upon that Passage of *Psalm* cxxxviii. *If I descend into the lower Parts of the Earth, thou art there*, he tells us, that there is a Law universal and inviolable, for the Souls of Men to descend to Hades ; and he adds, that for this Reason Christ did it, because by it he fulfilled the whole

whole Courſe and Order of human Nature. He had taught us the ſame before upon *Pſalm* liii. where he ſays again, that Souls are retained in Hades, until the Day of Judgment. And, upon *Pſ.* ii. and *Pſ.* cxx. upon theſe Words, *The Lord ſhall guard thy Going in, and thy Coming out*, he ſays thus, *That the Word* Guard *has no relation to that Time or Age; but that 'tis an Expectation of future Happineſs, when the Souls of the faithful, departing from their Bodies to the Entrance of that heavenly Kingdom, ſhall there be detain'd in the Cuſtody of the Lord, and conſign'd to the Boſom of* Abraham.

THIS is the Doctrine of St. *Hilary*, concerning the State of the Dead. He who has a Mind to know what St. *Ambroſe* ſays, may read his tenth, eleventh, and twelfth Chapters of his *Treatiſe of the Advantage of Death.* In the tenth Chapter he acknowledges the Repoſitory and Receptacle of Souls till the Day of Judgment: *For the Day of Recompence is expected by all, the Day on which the Conquered ſhall bluſh, and the Conquerors receive the Palm and Crown of their Victory.* And in the eleventh Chapter, ſhewing the Gladneſs of thoſe Souls in its ſeveral Degrees before the Reſurrection; *Fourthly*, ſays he, *they rejoice, becauſe they begin to underſtand the Meaning of the Repoſe that they take, and to foreſee their future Glory; and charm'd with that Conſolation,*

ſolation, they take their Reſt in their Receptacles with great Tranquillity, ſurrounded by Guards of Angels. Laſtly, the ſame Author in Book ii. Chap. ii. of his *Diſcourſe of* Cain *and* Abel, appears to me to go a great deal too far upon this Subject; for he gives a ſort of a Hint that the Souls of the Dead are, till the Day of Judgment, uncertain of their future Condition: *For though at the End of this Life*, ſays he, *the Soul is releaſed from the Body; yet 'tis ſtill in Suſpence as to the Event of the future Judgment.* Thus far ſays St. *Ambroſe.*

St. AUSTIN comes after him, and though he ſometimes, through Caution and Modeſty, declines the Difficulty, or rather the Envy, of deciding the Queſtion; yet, generally ſpeaking, he detains the Souls of all the Righteous, at leaſt, if you except the Martyrs, on this Side Heaven, and on this Side Glory, in ſecret peaceable Receptacles, until the Reſurrection, and the Day of Judgment, as will manifeſtly appear to you by the following Paſſages, if you conſult them, and compare them at Leiſure. *Expoſ. of Pſal.* xxxvi. 10. upon theſe Words, *adhuc Puſillum, Enchirid. ad Laurent.* c. 118. *Gen. ad Literam*, l. xii. c. 35. *De Civ. Dei*, l. xii. c. 9. *Retract.* l. i. c. 14. *Confeſſ.* l. ix. c. 3.

'TIS hardly worth while to call for more particular Witneſſes from that or the following Centuries: But there are beſides, two general

general Heads, from which Arguments may be brought that may comprehend ſeveral Fathers, and ſeveral Witneſſes. One of theſe is from the conſenting Opinions of the primitive Fathers, who take it for granted, that the State of all the Dead whatſoever, is but imperfectly happy before the Reſurrection. The other is from the Uſe and Practice of the Church, in their Prayers and Offerings for the Dead. As for what relates to their Opinions, there are two that are chiefly to be conſidered: The one is, that the Saints ſhall return in the Millennium, and reign together with Chriſt upon Earth. The other teaches us, that the very Saints themſelves are to be purged in the laſt Fire, and muſt be renew'd and purified, together with the World, before they are called up to Heaven, and the Sight of their Maker. Each of theſe Opinions had great and numerous Champions in the firſt Ages of the Church, as will plainly appear below in the Sixth and the Ninth Chapters. But each of theſe Opinions ſuppoſes, that the Saints are not yet in Poſſeſſion of ſupreme Felicity, of celeſtial Glory, or the beatifick Viſion of God; and that they neither are, nor can be prepared for that Enjoyment without the foreſaid Purgation. And whether theſe Doctrines are true, or are falſe, they acquaint us, however, with the Opinions and Sentiments of both theſe Claſſes of Fathers, (whoſe Number is not ſmall,) concerning the State of the Dead, and how

far, with relation to the Point in Queſtion, their Belief and their Opinions are conſonant to our own.

THE other Head, which carries with it the Conſent of many, is, the Cuſtom and Practice of the Church in their Liturgies, and thoſe ſacred Rites that regard the Dead. Theſe Liturgies contain either Thankſgivings for the Dead, and Commemorations of them; with either of which we have nothing to do here, or Offerings and Supplications for them. And this ſufficiently ſhews, that in their Opinion, the Souls for which theſe Rites were performed were not yet arriv'd at ſupreme Glory, and the moſt bleſſed Viſion of God; but theſe Rites were performed for the Souls of the moſt holy, and moſt illuſtrious Perſons; for the Souls of the Patriarchs, the Prophets, the Apoſtles, the Evangeliſts, the Martyrs, and all the other Lights of the Church; as may be ſeen in both the antient Liturgies, however doubtful, interlin'd, or corrupt, and in the Conſtitutions of *Clement*, in St. *Cyprian*, in *Dionyſius* whom they call the *Areopagite*, and in *Epiphanius*.

WHETHER this Practice is lawful and laudable, or otherwiſe, it ſeems to be founded in this, that the Ancients believed that the Souls of all the Dead, of what Order ſoever, excepting the Soul of Chriſt himſelf, were detain'd in Hades till the Reſurrection of the Body; and that they who were not yet made perfect

perfect might receive some Advantage from the Offerings and Prayers of the Church: I say Prayers; for that, besides their Offerings, Supplications were also used, appears to me, both from the foresaid Liturgies and Authors, and others, to be certain and irrefragible. Thus, for Example, in the Liturgy which is called *St. James's*, Prayers are put up to God, that he would grant Light and Rest to all the Dead who are orthodox Believers, from *Abel* even to this Day. *Remember, O Lord God, the orthodox Souls, even of all Flesh, those whom we remember, and those whom we do not, from* Abel *the just, unto this very Day: And do thou make them to rest in the Place of the Living, in thy Kingdom, in the Delights of Paradise, in the Bosoms of our holy Fathers* Abraham, *and* Isaac, *and* Jacob, *&c.* The same is apparent from other Liturgies, as well the *Greek*, as the *Latin*, as you may see in those who have made it their Business to collect them, and examine them. They pray for present Repose to the Dead, and future Light and Glory. And in all their Offices relating to the Dead, they always look with a stedfast Eye upon the Resurrection. Lastly, nothing is to be found, as far as I know, in the Practice of the antient Church, that does not answer to this our Hypothesis of the State of the Dead and Hades, where all the Souls that are separated from their

Bodies wait the Coming of Chriſt, and the Sound of the laſt Trumpet.

So much for the Teſtimonies of the Fathers, either taken ſeparately, or in a Body together. But perhaps you will ſay, that all this, or at leaſt a great Part of it, is to no Purpoſe; ſince the Papiſts (whoſe principal ſecular Intereſt it concerns, that the Saints ſhould enjoy Heaven, and Glory, and the Viſion of God before the Reſurrection) confeſs, that the Fathers are generally of the ſame Opinion with us, and that from them they expect neither Aſſiſtance nor Patronage in a Cauſe which, ſay they, depends entirely upon the Authority and Determination of the Church.* But does not this Determination come ſomething too late, ſince we had it not till the Council of *Florence*, that is, till the fifteenth Century? in which Council it was decreed, that *the Souls of the Saints, when they leave their Bodies, ſhould, in a little Time, be receiv'd into Heaven, and ſhould ſee God, as he is in Trinity and in Unity.* In the mean Time, we

* Thus many, and thus celebrated are the antient Fathers, as *Tertullian*, *Irenæus*, *Origen*, *St. Chryſoſtome*, *Theodoret*, *OEcumenius*, *Theophylact*, *St. Ambroſe*, *Clemens Romanus*, *St. Bernard*, who do not aſſent to that Opinion, which at length has been determin'd by the Council of *Florence*, after a great Debate, *viz.* that the Souls of the Juſt enjoy the Viſion of God before the Day of Judgment, but are of a contrary Belief. *Staplet. Def. Auctorit. Eccleſ.* l. 1. c. 2.

we can hardly bear it, when we reflect that ſo many Fathers, who were ſuch illuſtrious Rulers, and ſuch ſhining Lights of the Church, ſhould be pretended to have been in an Error for fourteen Centuries together, and that Truth ſhould be diſcover'd ſo late at laſt at *Florence*, and, as the Hiſtory of that Synod relates, extorted with ſo much Violence, or ſo much Fraud, from the Greeks, whom yet we behold, either ill cur'd or relaps'd. Let them conſider this, that are concern'd in it: But as for thoſe that are reform'd, this *Romiſh* Authority of Popes or Synods is of no Validity with us: We are left entirely at Liberty, fairly and impartially to examine the Thing, to conſider its Force and its Weakneſs, and diligently to weigh its natural Tendency; to ſee how the ſacred Scripture directs us, how the Reaſon of the Thing itſelf, and how the uncorrupted Age of the Church; and not to have only before our Eyes what was done lately, or determin'd at *Florence* againſt the united Voice of them all. This Article of the State of the Dead, highly deſerves to be throughly examin'd, that it may appear what it is that our Adverſaries and we contend for: For upon this Foundation depends the whole Superſtructure of *Romiſh* Religion, and *Romiſh* Pomp, with regard to their Saints, with regard to the Canonization, as ſome are pleas'd to expreſs themſelves, to the Invocation and the Adoration of

of them; nor only with regard to the Saints themſelves, but to their Images and their Relicts. Upon this depend all their Pilgrimages, their meritorious Vows, the Maſſes of their Saints, and that new, but moſt lucretive Invocation of Purgatory. Since, therefore, ſo great a Proviſion, ſo great a Weight of Superſtition depends entirely upon this Article, ſo great a Superſtructure upon this Foundation, or upon this Corner Stone, it moſt highly concerns us to make no raſh Conceſſion in a Cauſe of ſo vaſt Importance, and not to indulge too pious, but too ill-grounded Affections.

CHAP. IV.

Of the State of Nature, in which departed Souls are in the Interval between Death and the Reſurrection; whether they are naked and ſeparated from all corporeal Subſtance, or whether they are united to the aërial, or any other Body.

Vid. Dall. de pœnis. l. 2. c. 12. p. 181, &c. Gerard. de ψυχοπαν. Tom. 8. P. 419. & de ſtatu Animarum ſeparatarum, p. 403.

THE firſt Queſtion being diſpatch'd concerning the Quality of an intermediate State, as to Felicity or Miſery, or concerning the moral Condition of Souls before the Reſurrection, there follows another, and a much more difficult one, concerning their natural State. That Souls ſurvive, live,

live, and think after Death, or upon the Diſſolution of the Body, has been prov'd in what went before. But what the Apoſtle ſaid of his Exſtaſy, *whether it was in the Body, or out of the Body, I know not*, ſays he, *God knows*, that I may be allow'd to repeat here; whether the Soul, having thrown off this Body, puts on a new one, or remains naked, and without a Body, until the Time of the Reſurrection of the Dead, *I know not, God knows:* At leaſt I reckon this among thoſe Obſcurities, which neither clearly appear by the Light of Nature, nor by any divine Revelation.

SINCE there is no Room here for Experiments, we muſt derive our Knowledge, either from the Nature of the Thing itſelf, thoſe Seeds of Knowledge with which we came into the World, or from the ſacred Writings. The Philoſophers are the principal Evidences and Interpreters of the former, and the Chriſtian Fathers of the latter. But after we have conſulted all theſe, you will hardly find any Thing upon this Subject that is evident or concluſive, where one may fix one's Foot. As for the Light of Reaſon, and the Nature of Things, very little Aſſiſtance is to be expected from them in the determining this Queſtion. For ſince the Union of the Soul with this terreſtrial Body, or any other Body whatever, does not, as far as is known to us, ariſe from any natural Neceſſity, or any neceſſary Connexion

nexion between these two Natures, but entirely from the Will of God, and his divine Decree; when this Body comes to be dissolv'd, it will depend upon the same divine Will, or, which is the same Thing, upon Laws of Nature unknown to us, whether the Soul shall be subjected to a new Union, or remain separated from all Matter: For so it possibly may remain, since 'tis a Substance, or a Thing capable of subsisting by itself.

If upon this Subject you consult the Philosophers, they, for the most part, are silent. The Platonicks, indeed, or at least some of the Platonicks, assert, that the Soul, immediately after its Departure from this Life, and the Body, will be subjected to an aërial Body; and that from thence it will proceed to an ætherial one, after it has sufficiently improv'd itself in Wisdom and Virtue, by a retrograde Order, from that by which it fell down by Degrees into this lowest Station.

I cannot see that there is any Thing of Absurdity in this Opinion; but Evidence and Proof are wanting. For how does it appear that we, last of all, at our Birth threw off this aërial Body? or that there ought to be the same Order and the same Degrees of the Ascent and Descent? or that, lastly, no State intervenes of Silence and Separation from all Bodies? Since there are innumerable Worlds in the immense Compass of the Universe,

Univerſe, there may be many Orders, Modes, and Variations in the Revolutions of Souls, according to the manifold Wiſdom of God; and what Order of Aſcent or Deſcent God has preſcrib'd to us, belongs to his ſecret Diſpenſation, which is hid from us in this Life.

BUT perhaps you may believe that it may be poſſible to prove, from the Ghoſts and Apparitions of the Dead, that human Souls, when they throw off this Body, immediately aſſume another, by means of which they ſometimes ſhew themſelves viſible and conſpicuous in a human Shape. I muſt confeſs, that it never was evident yet to me, nor could I be convinc'd that the * Souls of the Dead ever yet appear'd, or will appear before the Day of Judgment. *Genii*, perhaps, or *Dæmons*, may have the Power of condenſing the Air, or their proper Vehicles, and forming them into human or brutal Shapes, and may perhaps exerciſe that Power ſometimes, eſpecially among barbarous Nations, or Nations that are half barbarous; but

* See the Words of St. *Chryſoſtome*, Homily xix. on *Matth.* and Homily the laſt, concerning *Lazarus*. *Maldonatus* upon St. *Luke*, Chap. xvi. towards the End, quotes *Tertullian*, *De Anima*, againſt the Apparitions of the Dead; but I ſuppoſe he is miſtaken, becauſe he quotes not the Chapter. He quotes likewiſe *Athanaſius*, or the Author, whoever he be, of the Treatiſe to *Antiochus*, ix. xi. and xiii. *Iſiodor*. Lib. viii. *Etymol.* c. ix. and *Theophylact* on *Matthew* viii.

but I believe that this is rarely done among us; and that among a thouſand Tales of ſuch Apparitions we hardly find one true. Theſe, however, by the vulgar are ſwallow'd, and the Remembrance of a future Life is renew'd, and their Faith is ſtrengthen'd. But the Monks are they who have imported the greateſt Cargo of Fables on this Subject, by their own Inventions, or their imaginary Viſions, in order to introduce and confirm the Belief of Purgatory.

But let us now, if you pleaſe, ſuppoſe that the Souls of the Dead have aërial Bodies, and have an animal Life. Here many Queſtions will occur, many Doubts to be clear'd up: Firſt of all, what Region of the Air would you have theſe new Comers inhabit? the ſuperior or the inferior one? If you place them below the Clouds, you then expoſe them to all the piercing Extreams of Seaſons, and all the Intemperature of the Skies, ſince they always live in the open Air, defended by no Roofs, by no Houſes of any kind whatſoever. When it rains, when it ſnows, when it hails, when it thunders, they ſtill lie expos'd in the open Air; and theſe Meteors muſt of Neceſſity, not only rudely inſult their tender Bodies, but ſtrike and tranſpierce them through and through; and the Fury of tempeſtuous Winds muſt drive and tranſport them, like ſo many Clouds, into new Habitations. But if you place theſe Souls of the Dead, as well

well the Evil as the Good, above the Clouds and the Atmosphere of the Earth, you carry them from *Hades*, into Regions serene and lucid, of which the impure and wicked Souls are most unworthy, and for which they are most improper: Nor would you, I believe, have these separated from the rest, the Goats from the Sheep before the Day of Judgment. But so much for the Seats and Stations of the Dead.

THE second Query is concerning the Polity of the Dead: For if they have Bodies, and lead an animal Life, 'tis necessary that there should be some Polity, some Government among them. Would you then, have them live all in the same Republick promiscuously? or would you have them separated and distributed, as they were here on Earth into several Nations, both by their Names and their Manners distinguish'd? As for Example; Would you have the *French* dwell all together, and separately from the rest? Would you thus have the *Spaniards*, the *Italians*, the *Germans*, the *Britons*, and all the rest of the Nations upon the Face of the Earth, have their own Seats in the Air, each of them separated from the rest? Would you have each of them likewise have their ancient Government, their own Language, their own Religion, and Customs? These are the Questions that are to be determin'd, and explain'd to the Inquirers. But first of all it will be difficult to fix and preserve

preſerve in a fluid Element, the Bounds of the ſeveral Empires; in an Element where there can be neither Ditches, nor Rivers, nor any Fortifications: Nor will the Difficulty be leſs in appointing their Kings; for which of the old ones, the firſt or the laſt, will they reſtore to the Throne? or what royal Pedigree will they prefer to the reſt? or, rejecting all antient Titles, ſhall they give the Crown to the worthieſt? I can eaſily ſee that Contentions will ariſe from hence, and Parties, and Factions, and Wars; but what Manner of fighting, or what Weapons they will uſe in the Air, I do not yet underſtand: The Dead certainly can die no more; nor do I know whether they can be wounded.

Some little Queries likewiſe ariſe concerning the Diſcourſe and Language of the Dead. Many have invented Dialogues of the Dead; but what Language the Dead make uſe of, I am yet to learn. You will ſay their Mother, or their native Language, the ſame that they us'd here on Earth, as the *Grecians* ſpeak Greek, the *Latins* Latin, and ſo for the reſt of the Nations: But Times, and People, and Languages, from Age to Age are chang'd. Our modern *Romans* are very little skill'd in the Language of the antient *Latins*, nor do the vulgar *Italians* underſtand any Latinity whatever: How ſhall theſe People hold Diſcourſe with their *Romulus*, or their *Numa*. The Languages of the *Celtæ* and the *Scythians*

thians, are no more remember'd by those who inhabit the same Seats in the North and the West, that they did. Lastly, what is to be done by us the Inhabitants of this Island, who have had so many Languages and so many Originals? Shall we speak *Welsh* in our aërial Bodies, or *Saxon*, or *Norman*, or as we do at this Day, a Mixture and Compound of them all? If the Life to come were to be regulated at this Rate, I am afraid there would be a Confusion of Tongues more grievous than that of *Babel*.

We come into the World, in which we are now, Infants, where by Degrees we learn the Use of Speech, instructed by our Mothers and our Nurses; but in the aërial World I presume there is no Infancy. They who are Infants when they go out of this, when they enter into that, are mature at once, without any Distinction of Age. They do not come out from the Womb of their Mother, and gradually, like our little ones, grow up to Youth and Manhood; but as soon as they have a Taste of aëtherial Air, grow reasonable and polite at once, without any Apprenticeship in learning. These Things I speak, not that I mean them, but according to the foresaid Hypothesis: Nor do I see how the Dead can retain their old Languages, or swallow down a new at one Draught. But so much for their Discourse.

But a greater Difficulty ſtill remains; and that concerns their Religion: For theſe aërial Men muſt of Neceſſity have among them divine Worſhip, and ſome Inſtitution and Form of Religion. Is every one then to embrace the ſame Religion which he profeſs'd upon Earth, and his own particular Sect of it? Are the *Jews* to follow the Law of *Moſes*, the *Mahometans* that of *Mahomet*, the Heathens to worſhip their own Gods, and the Chriſtians Chriſt? Would you have the Papiſts have their Pope as they have here below? and the reform'd have the Scripture as the Rule of their Faith? But what do I talk of the Scripture, when I have no Notion of aërial Books or Writings? If Men write in vain in Water, much more will they do ſo in Air. No Religion can, in that Station, retain its Canon or its written Law, nor its particular ſacred Rites, nor its external OEconomy. Beſides, if all the Souls of the Dead, from the World's Original to this very Day, live together in the Air, the *Jews* will find their Prophets there, and the Chriſtians their Apoſtles. The *Jews* being better inform'd of the true Meſſiah, from the oraculous Interpretation of the Prophets themſelves, will immediately become Chriſtians. Theſe in like manner, will, from the Mouths of the Apoſtles themſelves, receive the infallible Deciſion of all the Controverſies which are now depending between the Reform'd and the *Romans*.

The

The Conſequence of this will be, both the Converſion of the *Jews*, and the Union of the Chriſtians. O happy Seats! O thrice more happy, thoſe who are dead, than thoſe who are yet living! Laſtly, when the reſt of human Kind ſhall be clearly inſtructed in the Nature of the true God, and the Myſtery of the Meſſiah, inſtructed by Men divinely inſpir'd, they rejecting their Errors will forthwith be converted to the Chriſtian Faith and Worſhip. Behold now the glorious Kingdom of Chriſt, a Kingdom not upon Earth, nor in Heaven, but among the Dead in the Air. But all this very little agrees with the Chriſtian Diſpenſation, as 'tis in the ſacred Writings explain'd; and, indeed, is foreign to common Belief and Senſe: For who can believe that *Adam* and *Eve*, or the firſt Men of all their Poſterity, Sons and Daughters, live together in the Clouds, or the Air; and have liv'd there together for ſeveral thouſand Years? Do they ſtill keep to their Families, and to their antient Relations? Are they ſenſible of what is done upon Earth, and eſpecially among their own Countrymen, and moſt of all among their own Relations? But I am weary of asking ſo many Queſtions, and of being thus inquiſitive, in an Affair that is ſo uncertain, and indeed incredible. If you form Queries upon other Heads, the Anſwerer will be no leſs at a ſtand. For my Part, the more I reflect upon this in my Mind, the leſs can I find

that there can be any poſſible Way of eſtabliſhing a Commonwealth among the Dead, that is to ſay, an external, corporeal, animal, and viſible State.

HITHERTO we have had Recourſe to Reaſon alone, and to Arguments fetch'd from the Nature of the Thing: But we ought, beſides, to conſult the Holy Scripture, if that by chance ſhould have any Thing to offer to us concerning the Bodies of the Dead before the Reſurrection. But quite contrary, there are many Things in the ſacred Writings, which, according to my Apprehenſion, are by no means favourable to aërial Bodies in the intermediate State. Firſt, becauſe the ſacred Writings mention only two Sorts of animated Bodies, related to human Souls, the Terreſtrial and the Celeſtial; that which we have at this Time, and that which we are to have at the Reſurrection of the Dead. In the fifteenth Chapter of the firſt Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, the Apoſtle St. *Paul* handles this Matter a little more diffuſely; and after he had diſtinctly mention'd two Sorts of Bodies, and only two, belonging to the human Soul, he adds, *And as*
V. 49. *we have born the Image of the Earthly, we ſhall likewiſe bear the Image of the Heavenly*, making not the leaſt Mention of any intermediate Body, which he ſeems more plainly to exclude in the fifth Chapter of
V. 1. the ſecond Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, in theſe Words: *For we know that if our*

our earthly House of this Tabernacle were dissolv'd, we have a Building of God, an House not made with Hands, eternal in the Heavens. You see here that no corporeal State comes between the terrestrial and celestial Body; but in the Verses which follow, he calls that State which perhaps may intervene, a State of Nakedness: The Words are these, *For in this we groan earnestly, desiring to be cloathed * upon with our House, which is from Heaven. If so be that being cloathed, we shall not be found naked*; for if we are cloathed with any Body, we shall not be found in a State of Separation, upon the Coming of Christ to raise up the Dead: For the naked Soul, or the naked Mind, signifies the same with the naked Soul or the naked Mind, in a State of Separation from all Body whatever. And to be cloathed upon, can be applied to no one, unless to one who is already cloathed. Ver. 2, 3.

SECONDLY, the Fate of every Man, according to the Style and Account of the sacred Scripture, depends entirely upon our Actions in this Life; for in that to come there will be no Change, either of Manners, or of the Portion of Happiness, or Misery, which we have merited from those Actions. *Whether the Tree falls to the South or the North, in the Place where it fell, there it*

* Concerning the Word *Cloathed upon*, or *Superindui*, see the Explication of *Crellius*, p. 315.

C. xi. ver. 3. *must lie*, says *Ecclesiastes*; which Saying is generally referr'd to the Death of Man, and his unchangeable Condition afterwards. And so they are wont to interpret *the Shutting of the Gate* in the Parables of Christ: But St. *Paul* tells us that more plainly in the second Epistle to the *Corinthians*, and the fifth Chapter; *For we must all appear before the Judgment Seat of Christ, that every one may receive the Things done in his Body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good, or whether it be evil:* Which Words seem to determine and fix the future Condition of Men, from the Actions which they have done, or ought to have done, during this present Life. But if another Life intervenes before the Day of Judgment, and a Life of that Nature, that it is as capable of good or of evil Actions, of Virtue or Vice, as is the present Life, than which it is of much greater Length and Duration; I see no Manner of Reason, why the whole Weight of Eternity, and of the future Lot and Condition of Men should depend upon this present Life, which is so short, so surrounded with Troubles, and to numberless Temptations liable, that other of much greater Moment being entirely neglected and esteem'd as nothing.

Mat. xxv. 10. Luc. xiii. 25. Ver. 10.

THIRDLY, and lastly, According to a common Expression in the Holy Scripture, Death is call'd a *Sleep*, and those that die are said *to fall asleep*; which seems to hint to me, that

that the State of Death is a State of Quiet, of Silence, and of Inaction, or Ceſſation from Action, that is, with regard to the external World: So that in a State of Death we have no more Commerce with the external World, than we have in a State of Sleep. Beſides, we are ſaid to rouze ourſelves, or to be awake upon the Reſurrection: But why? becauſe that changing our Condition, and ſhaking off Sleep, we riſe again into Light and into the viſible World.

BUT you will ſay, perhaps, that that Phraſe in the ſacred Scripture, by which Death is liken'd to Sleep, and by which thoſe that die are ſaid to fall aſleep, is only an Euphemiſmy, or a figurative favourable Expreſſion, and regards the Body only, which when dead appears to take pleaſing Reſt, like one that is overwhelmed with Sleep. Be it ſo: But then the Expreſſion will be fuller and ſtronger, if with the Body you comprehend the Mind, which reſts from its uſual Actions, as it does in a State of Sleep; nor is it ſtruck by external Objects. Therefore, the Senſes are not only bound and ſhut up, as they are in Sleep, but we are ſnatch'd, as it were in an Extaſy, from the Body and the corporeal World. And when the Theatre of the viſible World opens itſelf again to us, we are aptly and juſtly ſaid to ſhake off Sleep, and to wake. But if, upon the Soul's Departure from this Body, we immediately put on another more active and more

lively; and the Souls of the Dead are ſporting in the Fields of the Air, extremely awake and chearful; I ſee no Reaſon why the Dead ſhould be ſaid to ſleep till the Reſurrection, and upon that to awake, unleſs you refer all that to the Body, which ſeems ſomewhat hard to me.

But we are here to obſerve, that when Inaction, or a Ceſſation from Action, is attributed to the Souls of the Dead, we are not to underſtand a total or an univerſal Inaction, as well internal as external, but external Inaction only; becauſe they have no Operation, or Action, which regards the corporeal World, nor are they affected by that any Manner of Way whatſoever. But ſtill they have Life and the Faculty of thinking remaining: For ſo I underſtand the Words of Chriſt, when, to prove the Immortality of the Soul, he ſays, that God calls himſelf the God of *Abraham*, of *Iſaac*, and of *Jacob*. *But he is not the God of the Dead, but of the Living, for they all live unto him.* By the Dead here Chriſt underſtands thoſe who are void of all Life whatſoever; and in this Senſe he denies that theſe Patriarchs are dead. *For they live*, ſays he, *unto God;* that is, if I underſtand the Thing rightly, though they do not live with Regard to Men, and the reſt of the viſible World, yet with Regard to God, in the inviſible World, according to their intellectual Faculties, they enjoy both Life and Vigour.

Luke xx. 37, 38.

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LET it ſuffice to obſerve all this from the ſacred Writings, in order to diſcover the State and Kind of Life, whether corporeal, or incorporeal, we are to have immediately after Death; and that for this End, that we may be able to judge, whether we ſhall behold this Sun, theſe Stars, and this agreeable Light; or whether, before the Reſurrection of the Dead, we ſhall enjoy the viſible World in any Manner whatever: For, according to our Philoſophy, unleſs the Soul is united to ſome particular Body, to ſome particular Portion of Matter, apart and ſeparately from all others, to which it is vitally, and after a peculiar Manner united, it can have no Senſe or Perception of the external World, or of any corporeal Appearance, or of any Part or Motion of Matter. This, perhaps, may to ſome appear a Paradox, who believe that it may very well be, and, indeed, that it actually is, that the Soul diſcerns all external Object, and the Motions of the corporeal World, though 'tis united to no particular Body, nor to any one Portion of Matter, rather than to another: And though it be altogether naked, yet, according to the Place or Region in which 'tis preſent, it may receive Impreſſion from the ſurrounding World, and from adjacent Bodies, in as equal a Manner, as if it had a Body peculiar to itſelf. But I would fain know how this can be, unleſs we ſuppoſe the Soul to be impenetrable: For all the Action that Bodies have

have is by Motion, Contact, and Impulſe; and wherever there is no Reſiſtance, there can be no Preſſure or Impulſe. Beſides, the Motions of Bodies produce not Senſations, or Thoughts, or Reflections, in us by their own Power, (for at that Rate the Effect would be more noble than the Cauſe,) nor can they by their own Power act upon an incorporeal Nature: But that is brought about by a Law eſtabliſhed by the Author of Nature, between theſe Souls, and theſe particular Bodies; by Virtue of which Law, they ſympathize each with the other, act upon each other, and from each other ſuffer; and this we call a *vital Conjunction* or *Union*: So that Union is one Thing, and naked Preſence another Thing*. And unleſs you can ſuppoſe that naked Souls, or Souls that are ſeparated from their Bodies, ſympathize with the whole Machine of the Univerſe, or with all Bodies of every Kind, they can receive Senſations or ſenſible Impreſſions from none.

Lastly, that I may draw this Matter to a Concluſion, Pleaſure and Pain, which are firſt-rate Senſations, and of the greateſt Importance, cannot ariſe in the Soul without a Body that is peculiar to it, or that is vitally to it united: For theſe are Affections which happen to the Soul, by Reaſon of ſome

* I could ſee though my Eyes were ſhut, if the naked Preſence, or the Nearneſs of the Object were ſufficient to excite Senſations in the Soul.

ſome Good or ſome Evil that happens to the Body, as 'tis its own Body. If you ſtrike with a Staff an adjacent Wall, I behold the Motion of the Staff, and I hear the Sound of the Stroke or the Blow; but I am ſenſible of no Pain from it: But if with the ſame Staff, and the ſame Force, you ſtrike againſt my Body, or that Portion of Matter which I call my Body, I immediately feel Pain from it; for a new Senſation ariſes very different from Seeing or Hearing, which we nominate Pain. In the ſame Manner, if in my Preſence, with a Sword or an Axe you lop off a Branch of a Tree, no Pain is felt by me from it; but if with the ſame Sword, or the ſame Axe, you cut my Arm aſunder, I feel inſupportable Grief and Pain. I am more affected with the Prick of a Needle upon my own Finger, than with the Blow of a Cannon Ball upon any other Body whatever. After the ſame Manner we may account for corporeal Pleaſure: But we have here ſaid enough to ſhew that our Sénſations do not ariſe from any Kind of Body, nor from every Preſence of the Soul; but that, beſides local Preſence, another State is required, a State of Union, or of Sympathy, to affect us with the Motions of Matter. But enough of this.*

Now

* That I may have done with this Subject, the Dead ſeem to me to know nothing of the Affairs of thoſe who

Now these Enquiries have we made, and these Determinations have we come to, concerning the Souls of the Dead, according to the Light which we have received, either from the Nature of Things, or from the sacred Oracles: By which it appears, first, that the Soul survives the Body; secondly, that the Souls of the Dead will be happy after Death, and the Souls of the Wicked unhappy: But, thirdly, that before the Day of Judgment, the former will not be supremely happy, nor the latter extremely miserable. Lastly, that 'tis more pro-

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who live in this World, nor to meddle with the Concerns of their Families, nor to be perplexed with their Cares: They rest from their Labours. Nor can I easily conceive, that an old Beldam, for Example, who never knew how to write or read, nor to make the Mark of any one Letter in the Alphabet, that much less knew how to paint or to engrave exactly; I say, I cannot easily conceive, that this old Beldam should be able to appear before us in her own Shape, and with all the Lines of her Face, and Lineaments of her Body, like one of such an Age, and with those Wrinkles that are the Effects of it; and all this to the greatest Exactness: Nor to appear only in her own Shape, but in her usual Garments and her external Dress: And all this so compleatly, so exactly, that neither *Apelles* himself, nor *Phidias*, no Art of the Painter, no Art of the Sculptor, was ever able to equal the Art of this old Beldam. We are amaz'd at the Hearing of these Things, as Things beyond the common Belief of Men: But as the Power and Faculties of the Soul, after 'tis set free from this Body, and cloathed with a thinner, are altogether unknown to us, I must own that all that I have said, however it may have a Tendency to persuade, yet does not come up to the Force of a Demonstration.

probable, that until the Reſurrection the Souls will remain in a ſeparate State, than that they will be veſted in any Body. Yet, after all, my Opinion is, that this is to be number'd amongſt Things obſcure, or Things not expreſly reveal'd.* Thus far have we gone, let us now proceed to the reſt.

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* Απέχεσθαι, *to abſtain*, with regard to ſome Things, is no leſs the Duty of a Chriſtian, than of a Philoſopher. If within this groſs Body, which we carry about with us, there is ſome internal Vehicle, with which the Soul being inveſted takes its Flight in the Article of Death, I have nothing to ſay againſt it; but we are bound to philoſophize according to Allegations ſolidly proved.

CHAP. V.

Tranſition to the remaining Parts of this Work; and, firſt, concerning the Coming of Chriſt, and the Conflagration of the World.

HITHERTO we have been among the ſilent Dead: Now we muſt return into the World's pompous Theatre, where a new Face of Things entertains us, where new *Phænomena* ſhew themſelves. Behold the Meſſiah coming in the Clouds of Heaven, the World in Flames on every Side, and the Dead with Amazement riſing, and the Tribunal

Tribunal prepared for the great Day of Judgment. If ever ſince the Beginning of Time there were, if ever to the End of the World there will be aſtoniſhing Scenes, aſtoniſhing Sights, ſuch theſe will tranſcendently be. Then new Heavens, and a new Earth, will ſucceed; then the millennary Empire of Chriſt; and, laſtly, the End of this Globe of Earth, and the Conſummation of all that belongs to it. Theſe are Subjects of the greateſt Concern and Weight to us, which we, according to our Capacity, and the Light that we came into the World with, or that we have received from the ſacred Writings, ſhall handle each in its Order.

2 Theſſ. i. 7, 8.

THE firſt four of theſe, if I am not miſtaken, are to fall out at the ſame Time together. Chriſt is to come to Judgment in Flames of Fire, and the Dead at the ſame Time are to riſe. And theſe four Points, I believe to be more clearly revealed, as to the Things themſelves, or the Main of them. But when the Queſtion is concerning Modes and Circumſtances, we muſt often diſtinguiſh between the vulgar Hypotheſis, and the reaſonable one, the literal and the ſecret one. Laſtly, as for the Things which are wholly hid from our Knowledge, they are entirely to be referred to the ſecret Diſpenſation of the Almighty.

As for what regards the Burning of the World, and the Coming of Chriſt, thoſe we have formerly treated of through an entire Book,

Book, which is the Third of the *Theory of the Earth*. And, therefore, we ſhall treat of them only ſuccinctly, and by Way of Abridgement here, that we may not appear to do the ſame Thing over again. Chriſt will come to judge and to rule the World; To judge Mankind, and to reign together with his Saints. He has explain'd each of theſe to his Diſciples, and called them to be his Aſſeſſors in either Throne. *In the Regeneration, when the Son of Man ſhall ſit in the Throne of his Glory, ye alſo ſhall ſit upon twelve Thrones, judging the twelve Tribes of* Iſrael. Chriſt had before, ſpeaking of the Life to come, join'd both theſe together, Empire and Judgment: *For the Son of Man ſhall come in the Glory of his Father, with his Angels, and then he ſhall reward every Man according to his Works.* Laſtly, in the ſolemn and divine Oracle, which he delivered upon the Mount of *Olives*, a little before his Death, he more than once reminded them of his Return to the Earth: *And then ſhall appear the Sign of the Son of Man in Heaven, and then ſhall all the Tribes of the Earth mourn; and they ſhall ſee the Son of Man coming in the Clouds of Heaven with Power and great Glory. And he ſhall ſend his Angels with a great Sound of a Trumpet, and they ſhall gather together his Elect from the four Winds, from one End of Heaven to the other.*

Mat. xix. 28.

xvi. 27, 28.

Mat. xxiv. 30, 31.

IN

Mat. xxvi. 64. In theſe, and other reſembling Paſſages, we are inſtructed by the Mouth of Chriſt himſelf in his future Return to the Earth; which after him the Angels, and after them the Apoſtles again and again proclaimed. At the ſame Time, I am not ignorant that theſe Sayings of Chriſt, concerning his future Coming, are ſo reſtrained by ſome, and have their Meaning ſo maimed, as if nothing was meant by them, but the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*; though during the Time that *Jeruſalem* was deſtroy'd, Chriſt remained above in the Heavens; nor during that Time did he ever come, or ever ſo much as appear, unleſs improperly, as far as the Works and the Judgments of God are taken for God himſelf. Beſides, the external Splendor, the Glory of the Father, the Concomitancy of Angels painted in thoſe Deſcriptions, denote his perſonal Coming, and can never be adjuſted to any figurative Meaning. Laſtly, the univerſal Judgment, and the End of the World are connected together with this Coming of Chriſt, in the forementioned Paſſages. The Preparation for Judgment is manifeſtly deſcrib'd in the foreſaid Paſſage, *Matt.* xix. 28. as you will find by comparing it with *Rev.* xx. 4, 11, 12. You will likewiſe find the judicial Reward or Puniſhment of every one according to his Merits, if you compare *Matt.* xvi. 27, 28. with *Rom.* ii. 5, 6, *&c.* And in the twenty-fifth Chapter of the ſame Evangeliſt,

ver.

ver. 31, 32, *&c.* both the Preparation for Judgment, and the judicial Sentences, are connected together with this Coming of Christ: *When the Son of Man shall come in his Glory, and all the holy Angels with him, then shall he sit on the Throne of his Glory. And before him shall be gathered all Nations; and he shall separate them one from another, as a Shepherd divideth his Sheep from the Goats,* &c.

As these Passages clearly denote the universal Judgment, and that at the Coming of Christ; so that Judgment as perspicuously means the contemporary End of the World, co-incides with the same. Some have been bold enough to assert, that in the twenty-fourth Chapter of St. *Matthew*, and other parallel Places, nothing is said concerning the End of the World, or the utmost Consummation of Ages: But that all those Sayings, though ever so great, yet solidly regard the Destruction of *Jerusalem* only. A bold Affirmation, and very ill grounded, in my Opinion. What? because in one or two Places, where a certain Coming of Christ is mention'd, some View is had to the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, therefore whereever in the Gospel Mention is made of his Coming, though superlatively glorious, and attended with a thousand Marks that can never in the least regard *Jerusalem*, but must be referred to Nature, and the World about to perish together; shall we dare to restrain and to wrest these Passages to the Destruc-

tion of one People, and of one City only? This ſeems to me to be highly raſh, that I may ſay no worſe of it.

But the Queſtion is now concerning this Chapter of St. *Matthew*, in which the foreſaid Interpreters ſay, that nothing is found that regards the End of the World, or that ought to be extended beyond the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*; which, if I am not miſtaken, may two Ways be confuted. Firſt, ſeveral Things are aſſerted and related in this Chapter, of which we have no Account in the Hiſtory of the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*. Secondly, the Things that are related in the ſacred Writings, when the ultimate Coming of Chriſt in the End of the World is deſcrib'd, agree and anſwer exactly to what is ſaid in this Chapter; and therefore both ought to be underſtood as meant of the ſame Coming.

Ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ οἰκουμένῃ.

As to the firſt of theſe, 'tis ſaid, ver. 14. *This Goſpel of the Kingdom ſhall be preached through all the World, for a Witneſs unto all Nations, and then ſhall the End come.* Theſe Things are not yet come to paſs, much leſs were they come to paſs before the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*. But further, theſe Perſons would have only *Judea* underſtood by *through all the World*, and by *all Nations* only the various Tribes and Provinces of the *Jews*; which, though it is ſomething ſtrain'd, yet, if there were no farther Objection, I ſhould not dwell upon this alone. But, ſecondly, the wonderful Appearances both in Earth and in Heaven, and

and the glorious Appearance of Chriſt in the Clouds above all, which are ſaid to precede the Conſummation of Things, which is here marked and foretold, did neither precede nor accompany the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem.* Theſe Prophecies are thus related by St. *Matthew : Immediately after the Tribulation of thoſe Days, ſhall the Sun be darken'd, and the Moon ſhall not give her Light ; and the Stars ſhall fall from Heaven, and the Powers of the Heavens ſhall be ſhaken. And then ſhall appear the Sign of the Son of Man in Heaven : And then ſhall all the Tribes of the Earth mourn, and they ſhall ſee the Son of Man coming in the Clouds of Heaven, with Power and great Glory.* But upon the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem,* Chriſt nowhere appeared in the Clouds of Heaven, nor did the Sun loſe its Splendor, or the Moon its Light, nor were the Powers of the Heavens ſhaken. A Comet, indeed, did appear with its Tail reſembling a Sword, or a Faulchion, as uſual : But the reſt of the Portents which *Joſephus* mentions are quite of another Kind.

Ver. 29.

Ver. 30.

De Bell. Jud. l. vii, c. 12.

BUT, beſides, theſe Signs in the Heavens are attended by others on Earth, as the Shaking of the Earth, and the Roaring of the Sea and its tumultuous Waves. For ſo St. *Luke : And there ſhall be Signs in the Sun, and in the Moon, and in the Stars ; and upon the Earth Diſtreſs of Nations, with Perplexity, the Sea and the Waves roaring,*

Cap. xxi. 25, 26.

Mens Hearts failing them for Fear, and for looking after thoſe Things which are coming on the Earth, for the Powers of Heaven ſhall be ſhaken: But what has *Jeruſalem* to do with the Sea, or the Raging or Roaring of its tempeſtuous Waves? Is any Thing like this related to have happen'd at that Time? Certainly nothing; but theſe and the reſt of the Things above mention'd, relate to another and a greater Cataſtrophe, the Deſtruction of the World: And therefore in explaining this Matter, Chriſt very aptly puts them in Mind of the Times of *Noah*, and the Deluge, which was not a national, but an univerſal Deſtruction.

In the mean Time, I am not ignorant that the Interpreters, of whom we have been here ſpeaking, in expounding theſe Phænomena, have Recourſe to Metaphors, and to Allegories, and to quote Paſſages from the Prophets, in which theſe or the like Expreſſions are us'd in a figurative Senſe: 'Tis granted that ſome of them are; but it appears to me to be no juſt Law of interpreting, to pretend that thoſe Things which are ſometimes us'd figuratively by the Prophets, ſhould be always and every where underſtood in the ſame Senſe. The Style of the Goſpel is a great deal more chaſte, nor does it eaſily deviate from the literal Senſe; from which an Interpreter ought never to depart, unleſs the Neceſſity of the Subject-Matter conſtrains him: And we have ſhewn in another

other Place, that these Phænomena in the Earth and the Heavens, though wonderful and extraordinary, will really happen towards the End of the World, when Nature is in its Pangs, and the Conflagration impending. The Destruction of *Jerusalem* was, indeed, a Type of the Destruction of the World, and therefore we have less Reason to wonder that they should both be mingled in a confus'd Relation; for there is, in the sacred Style, if I may so express my self, a sort of a Communication of Idioms between the Types and the Antitypes; and there is in the Prophets a repeated Completion of the same Prophesy, ascending gradually to its Height. Theor. Tell. lib. 3.

BUT so much for the second Argument, taken from the external Signs; the third follows it, taken from hence, that we observe, that there is in this Propheey another Period of Time, besides that of the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, and a Period posterior to it; for thus we read in St. *Luke*, Jerusalem *shall be trodden down of the Gentiles, until the Times of the Gentiles be fulfill'd.* See here another Period, different from that of *Jerusalem*, and posterior to it; for the Desolation of the *Jews* is said to endure to this other Period: I desire to know then what this posterior Period is, unless it be that of the World? or the Restoration of the *Jews* towards the End of the World, after the Times are accomplish'd that are pre- C. xxi. 24.

deſtin'd for the preaching to and converting the Gentiles. But the Wonders in the Earth, and the Heavens, and the glorious Appearance of Chriſt in the Clouds, immediately follow the Mention of this poſterior Period, and are therefore properly to be referr'd to that, and not to the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*. Beſides, when Chriſt ſays, that *of that Day and Hour knoweth no Man, no, nor the Angels which are in Heaven*, he ſeems to mean ſomething more remote than that Deſtruction, which when it was ſcarce at the Diſtance of half an Age from the Time in which our Saviour ſpoke, 'tis a great deal leſs probable that it ſhould have eſcaped the Knowledge of all the Angels in Heaven, than if you interpoſe the Series of many Ages, and underſtand by it the laſt Day of the expiring World.

Thus far we have treated of the Remarks which are found in the very Text. If beſides you compare this Prophecy with other Paſſages of the ſacred Scripture, where the laſt Coming of Chriſt, and the Day of Judgment are deſcrib'd, you will eaſily find by the Reſemblance and the Relation which the Expreſſions have to each other, that the ſame Time is deſign'd by all of them, and the ſame State of Things. In all of them you ſee Chriſt coming in the Clouds of Heaven; in all of them you ſee an Army of Angels attending him, and in all of them hear the Clangor of the laſt Trumpet proclaim him.

Do

Do you know, you who maintain the contrary Side, tell me, I beſeech you, in what Places do you own that the ſacred Scripture ſpeaks of the true, the perſonal, and the laſt Coming of Chriſt? I know very well that you believe in that Coming ſo much expected, and ſo much deſir'd by Chriſtians; and according to my Opinion, Chriſt ſpeaks of the ſame in many Places, in many the Apoſtles likewiſe. Chriſt, for Example, ſpeaks of it in the Goſpel of St. *Matthew* xvi. 27. but you will not allow it*; in *Matthew* xxiv. but you will not allow it; in *Matthew* xxvi. 64. but you will not allow it; *Matthew* xix. 28. and xxv. 31, 32. when you either deny, or heſitate.

BESIDES, the Apoſtles, in our Opinion, often ſpeak of the ſame; as for Example, 2 *Theſſ.* i. 7, 8, *&c.* but you are of another Opinion: Nor the Guards of Angels, nor the revenging Fire, nor the eternal Perdition of the Ungodly, which are all of them here commemorated, have Prevalency enough to prove to you that the ultimate Coming of Chriſt in the End of the World is here to be underſtood. Then in the ſecond Epiſtle of *Peter*, Chap. iii. 4, 8, 9, 10, *&c.* we believe that the Coming of our Lord, that the

* See Dr. *Hammond* upon theſe and the following Places, eſpecially on *Matt.* xxiv. 3. *Not. b.* 2 *Theſſ.* i. and upon 2 *Pet.* iii. and *Lightfoot* upon the fourth of St. *Mark*, p. 18.

Day of Judgment, and the Diſſolution and Renovation of this World are clearly ſhewn and exhibited to us; neither here do you give your Aſſent. Laſtly, we in like Manner interpret the fourteenth and fifteenth Verſes of the St. *Jude*, and the ſeventh of the firſt Chapter of the *Revelations*, of the judicial and viſible Coming of Chriſt; and here you likewiſe prevaricate; as likewiſe in ſundry other Places, too numerous to be mention'd here.

'Tis with Pain that we ſuffer ſo many ſacred Paſſages to be torn from us; Paſſages on which all our Hope was founded, of the future Coming of Chriſt. Nor is their Employment either grateful to Chriſtians, or advantageous to Chriſtianity, who make it their Buſineſs to leſſen the Weight of the Prophecies, and to confine and conſtrain their Senſe, which ſometimes they do without Senſe of Right or Shame, in ſpite of the Reluctancy, both of the Spirit and the Letter; as when the Preparation for the laſt Judgment is manifeſtly deſcrib'd, or the Conflagration of the World, or the Glory of the Father and the Angelick Guards; or laſtly, Chriſt himſelf deſcending from Heaven, and conſpicuous in the Clouds of Heaven; they who pretend to reduce theſe Realities, ſo illuſtriouſly manifeſt, to Shadows and Figures, theſe Univerſals, comprehending no leſs than a World, to the Deſtruction of one City and Nation; theſe Perſons ſeem

to

to me not only to convert a rich Vein into a ſteril one, but by an Interpretation of this Nature, to do Violence both to Words and to Things; for what can be more manifeſt than that Conflagration and the End of the World deſcrib'd in the foremention'd Paſſages of St. *Paul* and St. *Peter;* which yet they are pleas'd to reſolve into I know not what chymerical Allegories? But what we can ſtill worſe endure, and what has ſtill a nearer Relation to our Argument, is, that they wreſt and diſtort the Deſcent of *Chriſt in the Clouds of Heaven*, (*Matth.* xxiv. 30.) from the Letter and the Truth, * and pretend that there is nothing meant by it, but the Judgments of God, and Puniſhments that are ſent from Heaven; when yet they might have learn'd the Force of that Expreſſion from the Mouth and Information of an Angel, who tells us, that this Coming in the Clouds is both true and perſonal; for ſaid the Angel, *Ye Men of* Galilee, *why ſtand ye gazing up into Heaven? This ſame Jeſus, which is ſo taken up from you into Heaven, ſhall ſo come in like Manner as ye have ſeen him* Act. i. 11.

* That the Word *Clouds* is to be taken in a literal Senſe, you may ſee fully prov'd by *Gerard.* Tom. ix *de extrem. Jud.* p. 67, 68. This Word is taken from *Dan.* vii. 13. where the Prophet is ſpeaking of the ſecond Coming of Chriſt. By the *Clouds of Heaven*, the *Jews* underſtand *Angels*, or the *Guardian Hoſt of Angels*, ſays *Pearſon* on the *Creed*, p. 322. marg.

him go into Heaven, that is, perſonally and viſibly in the Clouds.

It ſeem'd to me to be of the greateſt Conſequence, to make theſe ſhort Remarks, that no Evidence might eſcape me in an Affair of ſo vaſt a Moment, and in ſo renown'd a Cauſe; for unleſs Chriſt returns from Heaven, we are loſt, vain is our Hope, and vain our Faith, as the Apoſtle ſpeaks concerning the Reſurrection. But there are, beſides, in the ſacred Writings, numberleſs Proofs and Teſtimonies of this glorious and moſt wiſh'd-for Coming, which is expreſs'd by various Names. 'Tis for the moſt part call'd παρεσία Preſence, and ſometimes ἀποκάλυψις Revelation, 1 *Cor.* i. 7. 2 *Theſſ.* i. 7. 1 *Pet.* i. 7, 13. and iv. 13. *Luke* xvii. 31. ſometimes 'tis named ἐπιφάνεια, an illuſtrious Appearance, 2 *Theſſ.* ii. 8. 1 *Tim.* vi. 14. 2 *Tim.* iv. 1, & 8. *Tit.* ii. 13. ſometimes 'tis named φανέρωσις, Manifeſtation, or manifeſt Appearance, *Col.* iii. 4. 1 *Pet.* v. 4. and that ſolemn Day is call'd by the Prophet and the Act. ii. 20. Apoſtle ἡ ἡμέρα κυρίε ἡ μεγάλη καὶ ἐπιφανής, *that great and illuſtrious Day of the Lord*, in which, ſays God, *I will ſhew Wonders in Heaven above, and Signs in the Earth beneath, Blood and Fire, and Vapour of Smoak: The Sun ſhall be turned into Darkneſs, and the Moon into Blood, before that great and illuſtrious Day of the Lord ſhall come.* Theſe Prodigies, theſe Wonders have not yet been brought upon the Stage; that

Part

Part of the Drama, the laſt Act of it is yet to come, for which the great Machines, and the moſt noble and moſt terrible Scenes are wont to be reſerv'd.

NOR is it any Objection to what has been ſaid, that this Prophecy is cited upon the Effuſion of the Holy Ghoſt on the Apoſtles, as if at that very Time it had receiv'd its Accompliſhment. It receiv'd it indeed in ſome Meaſure, as to the former Part of it, as to Gifts and Inſpirations divine; but 'tis manifeſt that the latter Part of it, concerning which we are now ſpeaking, theſe Signs and Wonders in external Nature, have no Relation to this Effuſion of the Holy Spirit, for that nothing in the Time of that Effuſion happen'd, but a Ruſhing, and a mighty Wind.

MANY and mighty Things remain to be perfected upon the Coming of our Lord, upon that *wonderful and terrible Day*, as the Prophet expreſſes himſelf. Nothing can be more terrible to the Impious and Irreligious, than the Sight of the angry Deity, upon whoſe Coming the Earth trembles, the Heavens are troubled, the Sun is converted into Darkneſs, and the Moon into Blood, and all Nature languiſhes as about to expire; *Then ſhall Mens Hearts fail them for Fear*, that is, the Hearts of the Wicked, *and for looking after thoſe Things which are coming on the Earth*, as the Evangeliſt tells us; but the Righteous ſhall look up, and lift up their Luc. xxi. 28.

their Heads, *when they ſhall ſee the Son of Man coming in the Clouds with Power, and great Glory*, before whom ten thouſand thouſand Angels ſhall fly, and illuminate his Way, flaſhing and blazing before their angry God, like Lightening before the Thunder, an Army more numerous, and more refulgent, than all the Stars in the Heavens.

HITHERTO we have prov'd the Coming of Chriſt from the ſacred Writings: But to paint the Exceſs of his Glory, or preciſely to nominate the Time of his Coming, is beyond all mortal Power. As for the former, we have given a ſort of a light Specimen of it in the foremention'd Paſſage, which we have left to be accurately perform'd by others: As for the latter, it muſt be confeſs'd, that the primitive Chriſtians, nay, and the Apoſtles themſelves, as far as we can gather from the ſacred Hiſtory, believ'd that this Day of the Lord was coming upon their own Times, or was not very far diſtant from them: But this Point will be diſcuſs'd hereafter, when we ſpeak of the Day of Judgment, that we may avoid being tedious in this Chapter.

Theor. Tell. l. iii. c. 12.

THE Conflagration of the World is join'd with the Coming of Chriſt, as the ſacred Oracles teach us. The Apoſtle St. *Paul* expreſly tells us ſo in his ſecond Epiſtle to the *Theſſalonians; when the Lord Jeſus ſhall be revealed from Heaven with his mighty Angels,*

Chap. i. 7. 8.

Angels, in flaming Fire, taking Vengeance on them that know not God, and that obey not the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ. In the same Manner the Apostle St. *Peter* joins the Coming of Christ, or that Day of the Lord, with the Combustion and the Dissolution of the World. *But the Day of the Lord will come as a Thief in the Night, in the which the Heavens shall pass away with a great Noise, and the Elements shall melt with fervent Heat, the Earth also, and the Works that are therein, shall be burnt up.* Besides, that the Lord will come to Judgment in Fire, several Passages of both Testaments witness; and in the same Chapter, ver. 7. St. *Peter* says thus; *but the Heavens and the Earth which are now, by the same Word are kept in Store, reserved unto Fire against the Day of Judgment, and Perdition of ungodly Men.* The Apostle St. *Paul* likewise, if I am not mistaken, in the first to the *Corinthians*, has the same View with St. *Peter*. *For other Foundation can no Man lay, than what is laid, which is that Jesus is the Messiah. Now if any Man build upon this Foundation, Gold, Silver, precious Stones, Wood, Hay, Stubble, every Man's Work shall be made manifest; for the Day shall declare it, because it shall be revealed by Fire, and the Fire shall try every Man's Work of what Sort it is.* That Passage likewise in the Epistle to the *Hebrews* seems to look the same

2 Ep. iii. 10.

Chap. iii. 11, 12, 13.

Chap. x. 27.

ſame Way; *There remains a certain fearful Looking for of Judgment, and fiery Indignation, which ſhall devour the Adverſaries.*

NOR do the Prophets leſs dreadfully ſet before us the fiery Equipage and Proviſion of a preſent, an angry, and revenging God, when they ſpeak of the Coming of our Lord, and the Deſtruction of his Enemies; that is often hinted at in the Pſalms of *David;* and *Iſaiah* ſpeaks plainly, Chap. lxvi. 15, 16. *For behold the Lord will come with Fire, and with his Chariot like a Whirlwind, to render his Anger with Fury, and his Rebuke with Flames of Fire.* The ſame Prophet has the ſame Meaning, Chap. xxxiv. 8, 9, 10. Beſides, in the Prophet *Daniel* the *Antient of Days* is deſcrib'd, as ſitting upon his Tribunal, and ſurrounded and cover'd with Flames: *His Throne was like the fiery Flame, and his Wheels like burning Fire: A fiery Stream iſſued, and came forth from before him: Thouſand Thouſands miniſter'd unto him, and ten thouſand times Ten thouſand ſtood before him; the Judgment was ſet, and the Books were open'd.* Laſtly the Prophet *Malachy* ſhews us the ſame Face of Nature upon that Day of the Coming of the Lord: *Behold the Day cometh that will burn as an Oven, and all the Proud, yea, and all that do wickedly ſhall be Stubble, and the Day that cometh ſhall burn them up.*

Pſal. xi. 6. l. 3. and lxviii. 2, 3. & lxxxiii. 15, 16. & xcvii. 3.

Chap. vii. 9, 10.

Chap. iv. 1.

HITHERTO

HITHERTO we have brought Paſſages from ſacred Authors, as Proofs of the future burning of the World upon the Coming of Chriſt: And this Conflagration, and this Coming, ought, in my Opinion, to have a Place among the cleareſt Doctrines of the Chriſtian Faith, if we only have Regard to the Facts themſelves. But there are, beſides, ſeveral Circumſtances, Modes, and Conditions of this Conflagration, worthy of our Thoughts and our Contemplation, though not equally manifeſt, nor equally neceſſary to be known. 'Tis certainly worth our while to endeavour to diſcover the very Time of this future Burning, and to have ſome Foreknowledge of it; to be able to ſet forth the Bounds and the Limits of it; how far it will reach upwards, and how far deſcend; how far it will pierce into the Bowels of the Earth, or penetrate the Regions of the Skies; and then to enquire into the Cauſes and Seeds of this univerſal Burning, as far as 'tis founded in the Nature of Things, and the Matter and Form of the Earth. Laſtly, to give an Account of its Beginning, its Progreſs, and its End; and with what Shape and Countenance the Earth will appear, when the Conflagration's over. Theſe and other Things relating to theſe, we have handled more at large in the forementioned Treatiſe, to which the Reader is deſir'd to have Recourſe, who has a Mind to be further ſatisfied upon this Subject. Theory of the Earth.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Of the laſt Judgment: A View of its principal Appearances; of its Manner, End, and Effect.

UPON the Coming of the Lord, the Dead ariſe, and appear before their Judge. The Reſurrection, indeed, in the Order of Nature precedes this; but of Things that are tranſacted at the ſame Time, thoſe are moſt commodiouſly handled firſt, that can be ſooneſt diſpatched. Now as of all Things that belong to our future State, the Doctrine of the Reſurrection is of the moſt Importance, it moſt of all requires our Care and our Application; and therefore we have reſerv'd the laſt Place for it, of the four Things which we propos'd to treat of.

IN handling this Subject we ſhall firſt give the Reader a View of its principal Appearances, as 'tis repreſented and painted by the ſacred Writers. Secondly, the Thing itſelf, and its ſacred Truth ſhall be explain'd according to a reaſonable Hypotheſis: Laſtly, and the End and Effect of this Judgment upon the Innocent and the Guilty, upon the Acquitted or the Condemn'd; and theſe Things appear to me to comprehend this Matter in general, and the moſt uſeful Parts of it, rejecting

jecting ſeveral impertinent and ſophiſtical Diſputes, which are wont to be carried on with ſo much Noiſe in the Schools, without Advantage to either Side, and by which the Force of the Mind, employ'd in ſuperfluous Trifles, is diſſipated and conſum'd.

As for what relates to the View of its principal Appearances, in the firſt Place the Judge is deſcrib'd by the Prophet *Daniel* ſitting on his Tribunal, and ſurrounded by his Guards, in theſe Words; *I beheld,* ſays he, *till the Thrones were ſet, and the Ancient of Days did ſit, whoſe Garment was white as Snow, and the Hair of his Head like the pure Wool; his Throne was like the fiery Flame, and his Wheels like burning Fire: A fiery Stream iſſued, and came forth from before him: Thouſand Thouſands miniſter'd unto him, and ten thouſand times Ten thouſand ſtood before him; the Judgment was ſet, and the Books were open'd.* Chap. vii. 9, 10.

In the Revelations of St. *John*, the Judge, the Judgment, and the Judged, are repreſented together. *I ſaw,* ſays the Prophet, *a great white Throne, and him that ſat on it, from whoſe Face the Earth and the Heavens fled away, and there was found no Place for them: And I ſaw the Dead, ſmall and great, ſtand before God, and the Books were open'd; and another Book was open'd, which was the Book of Life; and the Dead were judged out of thoſe Things,* Chap. xx. 11, &c.

which were written in the Books, according to their Works. And the Sea gave up the Dead which were in it, and Death and Hell delivered up the Dead which were in them: And they were judged every Man according to their Works. And whosoever was not found written in the Book of Life, was cast into the Lake of Fire. These Things are handled more diffusely than they are by *Daniel*, but the former exactly agree with the latter, as the *Revelations* are wont to do.

LET us now attend to the Discourse of Christ concerning the Proceedings of the last Judgment, and the Sentence that is pronounced both upon the Good and the Wicked.

Matt. xxv. 31, &c. *When the Son of Man shall come in his Glory, and all the holy Angels with him, then shall he sit upon the Throne of his Glory. And before him shall be gathered all Nations; and he shall separate them one from the other, as a Shepherd divideth his Sheep from the Goats: And he shall set the Sheep on his Right Hand, and the Goats on his Left. Then shall the King say unto them on his Right Hand, Come, ye Blessed of my Father, inherit the Kingdom prepared for you from*

Ver. 41. *the Beginning of the World. Then shall he say also to them on his Left Hand, Depart from me, ye Cursed, into the Fire prepared for the Devil and his Angels.* Thus

Matt. xix. 28. saith Christ in the foresaid Passage. 'Tis added in some other Places, that the Saints

and

and the Apoſtles will ſit together in Judgment with him. 1 Cor. vi. 2, 3. Revel. xx. 4.

If we compare theſe and other like Paſſages of the ſacred Writings, this will be the Repreſentation of the laſt Judgment, this its dreadful Appearance. A large burning Throne being erected, Chriſt ſits upon it as Judge, and with him ſit the holy Apoſtles. Chriſt is attended and ſurrounded with his Miniſters and Guards, the Angels. Then the Dead are placed before the Tribunal pale and trembling, ſummon'd by the Trumpet's Clangor: Which Things being thus ſet in Order, and Silence commanded, the Regiſter is brought, or the memorial Books, in which the Deeds, Words, Thoughts of every one, throughout his former Life, are marked: Theſe being opened and read, every one's Cauſe is determined according to his Works, or conformably to what he did in the Body. Then all Things being weigh'd and examin'd, the Wicked being placed on the Left Hand, and the Good on the Right, the Judge pronounces Sentence, a Sentence for the Wicked unutterably dire: *Depart from me, ye Curſed, into everlaſting Fire;* but a Sentence tranſporting and beatifying for the Good: *Come, ye Bleſſed of my Father, poſſeſs the Kingdom prepared for you from the Foundations of the World.*

In this Idea of the future univerſal Judgment, there are ſome Things, without doubt, theatrically ſpoken, conformably to the Manner of a human Court of Juſtice, Things

that will not happen litterally upon the Day of Judgment. In this Part of the Subject, I believe, we ſhall have no Adverſary: In the other Part, likewiſe, 'tis manifeſt, that ſeveral Things will be litterally accompliſhed, according as they are related. Chriſt will deſcend from Heaven perſonally, and viſibly, attended with his Angelick Guards, upon whoſe Coming the Dead will be raiſed, in order to undergo ſome Examination or Probation, upon which every one's Deſtiny will depend. But that theſe Things will be actually done under the Command and Conduct of Chriſt, the ſacred Scripture abundantly teſtifies, *Matt.* xvi. 27. *John* v. 22, 27. *Acts* xvii. 31. *Rom.* xiv. 9. 2 *Tim.* vi. 8. and in numerous other Places.

You ſee now that in this Repreſentation of the laſt Judgment, there is a Mixture of the vulgar and the ſecret Hypotheſis. 'Tis the Part of a wiſe Man to diſtinguiſh what, and how much belongs to each of them. The Tryal of Souls, in order to puniſh or reward them, according as each of them is undefiled or wicked, is the main of the Affair, the Deſign, and the End of it. Nor is it of much Significancy, whether this Tryal proceeds, after the Manner of external Judicatures, or a human Proceſs, or by any other Way; provided 'tis effectual, and obtains the End deſign'd by it. Some of the Antients were of Opinion, that this Tryal, at the Burning of the World, was to be performed

formed by Fire, of which we ſhall ſpeak immediately. However, this is manifeſt, that the Style of the ſacred Writers, in repreſenting this judicial Proceeding, is accommodated to human Cuſtoms and Inſtitutions; and that neither Books nor Regiſters will be found in the Air, nor the Hiſtory of his paſt Life be recited to every Individual. That every one will deſerve the Fate which he meets with, will ſufficiently appear by the Teſtimony of his own Conſcience, and that State of Mind, in which he will be actually found.

BUT we have ſaid that theſe Things are in a great Meaſure accommodated to human Cuſtoms and Inſtitutions, and particularly to the Doctrines and the religious Belief of the Heathens, who conſtituted Judges in the infernal World, Obſervers of Juſtice and Equity, and the Rewarders and Revengers of human Actions. Their Names and their Buſineſs, and the various Puniſhments which they inflicted upon flagitious Men, are ſufficiently known from the *Grecian* Authors. *Plato*, above all of them, has copiouſly treated of this Matter in ſeveral Places, as in his *Phædo*, and towards the End of his *Gorgias*, and in his Tenth Book of a *Commonwealth*, under the Perſon of *Herus Arminius*, who was come back from Hell to make the Relation. But theſe and ſeveral other Things, which relate to the infernal World, and to the State of the Dead, were

borrowed by the *Grecians* from the *Egyptians*, according to * *Diodorus Siculus*, which, he ſays, was begun by *Orpheus*, whom afterwards ſeveral *Grecian* Poets and Theologues followed.

But theſe Things by-the-by. What is more worthy of Remark, is, that ſome among the Antients were of Opinion, that there was no perſonal Miniſtry, no artful Pomp or Ornament, in the Diſtribution of Juſtice to human Souls; but that the Nature of Things was by divine Providence ſo prepared and ordered, that it would ſpontaneous diſtribute Juſtice to every Soul that ſhould be freed from its mortal Body. And, therefore, they gave the Name of *Nemeſis*, and ſometimes of *Adraſtia*, to this Force of God or Nature: Ἀναπόδραστον αἰτίαν ἔσαν κατὰ φύσιν· becauſe *they believed no Body able to fly from this Cauſe thus appointed by Nature:* As the Author of the Treatiſe *de Mundo* ſays. In the ſame Manner *Adraſtia*, or *Nemeſis*, is ſaid by *Ammianus Marcellinus*, to be the *Avenger of wicked Actions, and the Rewarder of the Good: Whom*, ſays he, *antient Theologues imagining to be the Daughter*

Lib. xiv. ſub finem.

* *But of the Puniſhments of the Wicked in Hades, and of the Fields of the Good, and of the Introduction of the making of Idols, and the imitating of what relates to the Sepulchres of the* Egyptians, *&c.* Theſe and Sentences of the ſame Nature, concerning *Orpheus* and the *Egyptians*, you may ſee in *Diodorus*, *l.* i. *in fol.* 86.

ter of Juſtice, *teach us, that ſhe overſees all earthly Things from hidden and remote Eternity; that ſhe the Sovereign Queen of Cauſes, the imperial Arbitreſs of Things; that ſhe the deciding and determining Judge, mingles the Lots in the fatal Urn, and abſolutely governs and diſpoſes of the Viciſſitudes of human Affairs.*

BUT this Force implanted in the Nature of Things, this Force, that is able thus to diſtinguiſh and to diſtribute Juſtice to every one in a future State, has not been ſo well explained by antient Philoſophers or Theologiſts, as to make it evident by what Methods and what Cauſes this can be effected without a judicial Proceſs. Some of the Chriſtian Fathers, as we obſerved above, were of Opinion, that this Probation would be effected, and this Judgment executed by Fire, at the general Conflagration of the World; in which they believed that the Souls of all thoſe would be involved, who were formerly Inhabitants of this Earth; and that, according to the Degree of their Purity or Impurity, they would receive more or leſs, or no Damage at all from it. And this Opinion is founded upon St. *Paul*'s Diſcourſe to the *Corinthians*, 1 *Epiſt.* iii. 13. in theſe Words: *Every Man's Work ſhall be made manifeſt; for that Day ſhall declare it, becauſe it ſhall be revealed by Fire; and the Fire ſhall try every Man's Work, of what Sort it is.* *Origen* againſt *Celſus* ſays, *That* L. v. m. p. 240, 241. *this*

this last Fire would be the Fire that would purge the World. And then he adds, *Not only the World, but, in all Probability, every individual Soul that should have Occasion for it, either for a Remedy, or for a Punishment; burning and not consuming those, in whom this Fire finds no Matter to work upon and to consume; but both burning and consuming those who build the figurative Edifice of their Actions, Words, and Thoughts, of Wood, and Hay, and Straw.* And in
P. 242. the Sequel he further adds, *This Doctrine, therefore, promises that they only shall be untouched by this Conflagration, and this Punishment, whom it finds pure and cleansed, both with Regard to their Doctrines, their Manners, and their Actions. But for them who are unlike these, and who deserve to undergo this Fiery, and this penal Dispensation, 'tis necessary that for a certain Time the Punishment should be inflicted on them, which God thinks fit to inflict on them, who being formed after the Image of the divine Nature, have yet the Will of God in Contempt, and do not endeavour to make their Lives answerable to that divine Image.* But as this Doctrine of the Tryal of Souls by the last Fire, cannot be demonstrated by the Light of Nature, its Champions declare, that 'tis founded on the sacred Writings, and chiefly, as we said above, on the foresaid Discourse of St. *Paul* to the *Corinthians*;

thians; which we ſhall therefore propoſe to be examined as ſuccinctly as may be.

NUMEROUS Diſputes have ariſen concerning that Paſſage of the Apoſtle. But as for the Buſineſs that we have with it, the whole Controverſy depends upon two Words, and the Interpretation of them, *viz.* what the Apoſtle underſtood by the Word *Day*, or *that Day*, and what he underſtood by *Fire*. Some Perſons here underſtand a metaphorical Fire, Tribulation and Affliction: But we, that real and natural Fire, which will deſtroy the World: And by *Day*, they likewiſe mean the Day of Temptation; but we, the Day of Judgment, or the Day of the Lord. And as this is the common, and moſt ſimple Interpretation, it may ſeveral Ways be proved to be the true one: As, Firſt, by parallel Places, in which we meet with the ſame Word *Day*, and where it has the ſame Force, and the ſame Signification, which we have given it here, as in 1 *Theſſ.* v. 4. *But ye, Brethren, are not in Darkneſs, that that Day ſhould overtake you as a Thief.* Here the Day of the Lord is underſtood, as is evident from the ſecond Verſe. But what that Day of the Lord is, which comes as a Thief in the Night, St. *Peter* explains, when he ſays, 'tis the ſame in which the World is to be deſtroy'd by Fire: *But the Day of the Lord will come as a Thief in the Night, in the which the Heavens ſhall paſs away with a great Noiſe,* ἡ ἡμέρα. 2 Ep. iii. 10.

and

and the Elements ſhall melt with fervent Heat; the Earth alſo, and the Works that are within, ſhall be burnt up. And the Word *Day* is uſed in the ſame Senſe by the Apoſtle in his Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, when he ſays, *Chap.* x. 25. *That they ſhould exhort one another, and ſo much the more as they ſee the Day approaching.* Where the Word *Day*, plainly denotes the Day of the Lord, the Day of Judgment, and of the Conflagration, as is apparent from *ver.* 27. Beſides, the Word *Day*, emphatically ſpoken, is the ſame Thing with ἡ ἡμέρα ἐκείνη, *the Day of the Lord:* But 'tis ſufficiently known, that in the ſacred Writings, that Expreſſion always ſignifies, the Day of the Lord, or the Day of Judgment.

ἡμέρα.

ἡ ἡμέρα.

2 Theſſ. i. 10.

2 Tim. i. 12, & 18. iv. 8.

SECONDLY, The Word *Day*, mentioned at firſt by the Apoſtle without Limitation, is afterwards limited and determined by the Words that immediately follow; 'tis a Day *that is revealed in Fire*, ἐν πυρὶ ἀποκαλύπτεται· *a fiery Day in the Revelation of the Lord*, ἐν τῇ ἀποκαλύψει τοῦ κυρίου --- ἐν πυρὶ φλογός; as the ſame Apoſtle ſays afterwards to the *Theſſalonians:* Nor is there the leaſt Room to doubt but that theſe two Paſſages regard the ſame Time, and the ſame Thing, whether the Word *Revealed*, ἀποκαλύπτεται, relates to *Day*, or the Lord, or the Work itſelf. Indeed the Coming of the Lord in the ſacred Writings is wont to be called ἀποκάλυψις, or *Revelation*, and

2 Ep. i. 7.

is

is mark'd and shewn by *Fire*, as every one knows; and therefore is both Ways answerable to this Place. Besides, another Mark and Characteristick of this Day is, that 'tis ἡμέρα δηλωτικὴ, *viz.* a Day of Manifestation; by which Expression is meant no less the Day of the Lord, or the Day of Judgment, according to what follows in the next Chapter; *Therefore judge nothing before the Time, until the Lord come, who both will bring to Light the hidden Things of Darkness, and will make manifest the Counsels of the Hearts; and then shall every Man have Praise of God.* And the the same Thing is said to the *Romans*, Chap. ii. 16. 1 Cor. iv. 5.

You may add to these Proofs, if you please, the Interpretations of the Fathers, and of several others. *Theodoret* upon the Place, after he has explain'd the divers Species of Matters, as Gold, Silver, Wood, Hay, Stubble, subjoins, Τὴν δὲ τῶν ὑλῶν διαφορὰν ἐχ ὁ παρὼν βίος, ἀλλ' ὁ μέλλων, ἐλέγξει· τοῦτο γὰρ ἔφην [ἡ γὰρ ἡμέρα δηλώσει] ἀντὶ τοῦ, ἡ τῆς κρίσεως. *But 'tis not the present, but the Life to come that will distinguish and make known the several Species of Matter; for the Apostle said the Day will declare it, instead of the Day of Judgment will declare it:* Then he adds upon the following Verse; Κατὰ τὴν τῆς ἐπιφανείας τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμέραν, βάσανός ἐστι, καὶ ἐξέτασις ἀκριβής· καὶ τὰς μὲν εὐσεβειωκότας, καθάπερ χρυσὸν

σὸν

σὸν καὶ ἀργυρον, τὸ πῦρ λαμπροτέρας ἀποφανεῖ· τὰς δὲ τῆς κακίας ἐργάτας, δίκην ξύλων, καὶ χόρτου, καὶ καλάμης, καταναλώσει. *In the Day of the glorious Appearance of the Lord, there will be an Examination and a ſtrict Enquiry; and the Fire will render them who have liv'd righteouſly, like Silver and Gold, more bright, but will conſume thoſe who have been Workers of Iniquity, like Wood, and Hay, and Stubble.* And *Theophylact* upon the Paſſage ſays the very ſame Thing, Ἡμέραν μὲν τὴν τῆς κρίσεως φησιν· ἐν πυρὶ δὲ λέγει τὰ ἔργα ἀποκαλύπτεσθαι, τουτέστι, φανερὰ γίνεσθαι ὁποῖα τὴν φύσιν ἐστίν· ἆρα χρυσὸς, ἆρα τοὐναντίον. *By the Day the Apoſtle means the Day of Judgment: He ſays that the Works of Men will be reveal'd by Fire, that is, the Fire will make it evident of what Nature they are; whether they are of Gold, or of what other kind.* St. *Baſil*, *Nazianzen*, and *Nyſſen*, St. *Jerom*, and generally all the Fathers, eſpecially the *Greek* Fathers, explain the Word Day after the ſame Manner. Laſtly, the *Latin* Verſion following either the Fathers, or ſome old Manuſcript, has the Word *Lord* expreſly here.

THUS far concerning the Word ἡμέρα, *Day*. The other Word upon which the Explication of this Paſſage depends, is πῦρ, or *Fire*: But if we agree upon the Signification of the firſt Word ἡ ἡμέρα, *Day*, and take it to be evident that in this Place it denotes the

Day

Day of the Lord, or the Day of Judgment, the Signification of the other Word *Fire* will meet with little Doubt: For it must be such as must attend upon the Day and Coming of our Lord, that is to say, it must be a real and material Fire: And they who here pretend, that a metaphorical and figurative Fire ought to be understood, offend against the Rule receiv'd by the Interpreters of the sacred Writings, which is, that we should never depart from the Letter without Necessity. Now this is certain, that upon the Coming of the Lord there will be no Want of a real Fire, when the Earth and the Heavens are all in a Blaze; nor can there be the least Reason for fancying this metaphorical Fire, besides the other real one, and for nauseously repeating their own Metaphor thrice in the same Discourse.

HITHERTO we have shewn the Day and the Coming of the Lord, and that a genuine and real Fire is here meant by the Apostle; but the chief Difficulty is still remaining, and that is, concerning the Force and Influence of this Fire, how it can try or make every Man's Work manifest, that it may be truly πῦρ δοκιμαστικὸν καὶ διακριτικὸν, a searching and distinguishing Fire. Works and Actions that are past, can never be recall'd to a Tryal by Fire: That indeed is certain; but then the Habits and Dispositions of Mind, from whence those Actions flow'd, remain; and the Souls in which they are inherent, according

ing as they are more or leſs pure, will be more or leſs affected by this Fire. But you will ſay, perhaps, that Fire cannot act upon unbodied Minds, or upon Natures purely ſpiritual; that they may feel the Force and the Action of Fire, they muſt be inveſted in ſome Body. We are not able fully and clearly to ſolve this Difficulty; but when there is the ſame Difficulty concerning the infernal Fire, which yet is univerſally granted, a common Scruple ought not to detain us, or to give us much Trouble. Since the Things themſelves are evident, both of them, as to the Manner, ought to be referr'd to the the *ſecret Diſpenſation*. In the mean while, that we may bring more * Light to this Opinion, and may come as near to demonſtrate the Thing, as poſſibly can be done, we reſolve to conſult ſome other Paſſages of the ſacred Scripture, which ſeem to expreſs the very ſame Notion, or, at leaſt, to imply it; to which we ſhall afterwards add the Explications and Tenets of ſome of the Fathers, concerning the ſame Opinion.

Mat. ix. 49. Mat. xxxi. 11. As for the Scripture, to this Opinion may be referr'd the Saying of Chriſt concerning the

* *John Erigen. de Prædeſt.* c. 19. ſays, that the Bodies of the Saints will be chang'd into an æthereal Subſtance, which Fire ſhall have no Power over: But that thoſe of the Wicked ſhall be chang'd into an aërial Subſtance, that will yield to the Force of Fire, and may be conſum'd by it.

the fiery Sacrifice, and that other of *John* the Baptiſt, concerning the twofold Baptiſm, that of Water, and that of Fire: The Words of Chriſt are theſe; * Πᾶς γὰρ πυρὶ ἁλισθήσεται· καὶ πᾶσα θυσία ἁλὶ ἁλισθήσεται. *For every Man ſhall be ſalted with Fire*, as alſo *every Sacrifice is ſalted with Salt:* For I am of the Opinion with others, that this Paſſage is ſo to be tranſlated and underſtood, as if καὶ were a Comparative, as it is in ſeveral other Places, *Mat.* vi. 10. *Joh.* vi. 57. for Chriſt ſpeaks here of the future Deſtiny of Men, as appears by the Context, and of a certain Tryal and Purification of them: But when he ſays, πᾶς πυρὶ ἁλισθήσεται, he ſeems to join Fire and Salt, each of which has an abſterſive Quality. Salt prevents Putrefaction in ſoft and humid Bodies; but Fire ſoftens, melts, and purifies the hardeſt, and purges off the Filthineſs, and Ruſt, and Droſs, and Dregs of Metals, and clearing them of their Imperfections, refines, and gives them a new Luſtre and Purity. Thus ſome believe that the Souls of Men, which the Apoſtle in this figurative Sentence compares to Metals, are, as it were, melted down again, and recaſt in this general Conflagration; or that every Man who is acceptable to God, ſhall be ſeaſon'd with a certain Acrimony

* For every one ſhall be ſeaſon'd with Fire, that is, ſhall be prov'd by it; as St. *Paul* ſays, that all Things ſhall be try'd in Fire. *Theophil. in Loc.*

Acrimony of Grief, as it were with Salt; but that the Wicked are to be purg'd by Fire, or, like a Sacrifice, to be conſum'd by it. 'Tis probable, indeed, from the foregoing Verſes that this relates to the laſt Fire; but theſe Expreſſions of Chriſt appear too obſcure to have any ſingular Doctrine or Concluſion founded upon them.

I NOW come to *John the Baptiſt*, who makes mention of a twofold Baptiſm, that of Water, and that of Fire; as the Antients affirm'd, that the World was to be purg'd in a twofold Manner by Water, and by Fire.

Mat. iii. 11. *I, indeed*, ſays the Baptiſt, *baptiſe you with Water unto Repentance; but he that cometh after me ſhall baptiſe you with the Holy Ghoſt, and with Fire.* That this Saying has a Regard not only to the Times of the Goſpel, but likewiſe to the ſecond Coming of Chriſt, may be prov'd by that which follows: *Whoſe Fan is in his Hand, and he will throughly purge his Floor, and gather his Wheat into the Garner, but he will burn up the Chaff with unquenchable Fire.*

Tit. iii. 5. BAPTISM is ſaid to be λοῦτρον τῆς παλιγγενεσίας καὶ ἀνακαινώσεως, *the Waſhing of Regeneration and Renovation*; and the Renovation of the World by Fire, is uſually call'd by the *Grecians* παλιγγενεσία & ἀνακαινωσις, *Regeneration and Renovation*. Waſhing is twofold, warm and cold; the Cold Bath is the waſhing with Water; the Hot and the Dry is the Fiery Bath: But this latter

is more effectual than the former, and more penetrating. They who allow that there is that Virtue and that Efficacy, the holy Spirit co-operating, in the baptiſmal Water, that by it Infants are regenerated, will hardly be able to deny, that the Fire muſt have a much greater Power, the ſame Spirit co-operating. The Holy Ghoſt deſcended in fiery Tongues, which alſo is called a *Baptiſm*, as if it were a Type of the future fiery Baptiſm. The Deluge of Water was the Baptiſm of the World: The Deluge of Fire will better deſerve that Title, will purge more ſtrongly and more ſharply, and will waſh away its Filthineſs more efficaciouſly: And as God can reſtrain the Power of the Flames to that Degree that they ſhall not ſo much as touch a human Body, as in the *Babylonian* Furnace; ſo he can ſo redouble their Strength and their Intenſeneſs, that they ſhall penetrate the very Souls of Men, or rather thoſe new Bodies to which their Souls will then be join'd.

Act. ii. 3. c. i. 5.

1 Pet. iii. 21.

THESE Quotations have we made from the * ſacred Writings, to prove or to illuſtrate the foreſaid Opinion: To which we have the Conſent and the Agreement of ſeveral

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* That Saying of Chriſt, *Mat.* xii. 32. *that there is no Remiſſion for Blaſphemy againſt the Holy Ghoſt*, either in this World or the other, has been variouſly explain'd by Interpreters: They that take it literally, can underſtand it of no other Remiſſion, than that which is obtain'd by the purging Fire at the End of the World.

veral of the antient Fathers, whose Testimonies it will now be Time to add. We brought *Origen* before, from his fifth Book against *Celsus*; to which Passage there is another in the fourth that is near a-kin: The Words are these, Οὐκ ἀρνέμεθα τὸ καθάρσιον πῦρ, καὶ τὴν τῷ κόσμῳ φθορὰν, ἐπὶ καθαιρέσει τῆς κακίας καὶ ἀνακαινώσει τοῦ παντός· λέγοντες παρὰ τῶν προφητῶν ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν βιβλίων μεμαθηκέναι: which the Interpreter has render'd thus; *We do not deny but that this purging and cleansing Fire, will, together with the World, destroy all Malice, since we have learnt this in the sacred Books of the Prophets.* He explains this Doctrine more at large in his Commentaries: In his third Homily upon the thirty sixth Psalm, after he has told that all Men whatever, the Apostles themselves not excepted, would undergo this fiery Trial, he compares that Ocean of Fire, which would be at the general Conflagration, to the *Red Sea*, and the Wicked and the Righteous to the *Egyptians* and the *Israelites*, and that these latter would pass through that *Red Sea*, or that Lake of Fire, without either Hurt or Pain, but that the former would be swallowed up by it. In his sixth Homily upon *Exodus* he gives us the same Doctrine expressly, and calls this purging and cleansing Fire, *into which*, he says, *that we must all enter, a fiery Forge.* And likewise in the thirteenth Homily upon *Jeremiah*, repeating the same Doctrine,

Doctrine, he calls this last Conflagration by another Name, taken from the Sacred Writings, *viz.* a *Baptism*, or *Bath of Fire*. Lastly, that I may pass by several Things related to these, in the End of the eighth Book of his * Commentaries upon the Epistle to the *Romans*, he has these Words: *But he who despises the Word of God, and the Purifications of the Doctrine of the Gospel, reserves himself for dire and tormenting Purifications: --- But what Space of Time, or how many Ages, this very Purging and Cleansing, which is perform'd by penal Fire, will torture Sinners who are to undergo it, he only can know to whom the Father has transferr'd all Judgment.*

NOR ought we to fancy, as some imagine, that this Opinion concerning this Fiery Purgation and Trial, is peculiar to *Origen*, when it was common to almost all the Fathers, till the Time when St. *Austin* liv'd. *Lactantius*, especially, says the same Thing plainly, both of the Just and the Unjust. *When God shall sit in Judgment*, says he, *even the Just will be examine by Fire: Then they whose Sins shall be found excessive, either for their Weight or their Number, shall be scorch'd and consum'd by the Fire; but they whom impartial Justice and* Instit. Div. L. 7. c. 21.

M 2 *mature*

* The Place of *Origen* is in *S. Sen.* but see the Place itself, and if he says it ought to be conceal'd as a Mystery.

mature Virtue ſhall have compleatly armed, ſhall remain untouched by the Flames; for they have ſomething of Divinity in them, which will reject them, and repel them. *Hilary*, Biſhop of *Poitou*, no leſs boldly affirms this: Nor does he wholly exempt the Bleſſed Virgin from paſſing through theſe
Pſ. cxviii. Flames. *How*, ſays he, *can we deſire to come to that Judgment by which we are to endure the Pains of unquenchable Fire, in which we are to undergo the moſt grievous Torments for the expiating the Sins of our Souls. A Sword has paſſed through the Soul of the Bleſſed* Mary, *that the Thoughts of the Hearts of many might be revealed. If, therefore, that Virgin, who was capable of comprehending a God in her, muſt undergo the Severity of Judgment, what Mortal ſhall dare to deſire to have that God for his Judge?* And in the ſecond Canon upon the Third of St. *Matthew*, when he explains that, *Shall baptize you with the Holy Ghoſt, and with Fire; it remains*, ſays he, *that we who have been baptiz'd with the Holy Ghoſt, muſt be made perfect by the Judgment and Baptiſm of Fire.*

St. Ambrose treading in the ſame Footſteps, and ſupported, as appears to him, by the Authority of ſacred Scripture, diſcourſes after the ſame Manner concerning the future Judgment, and the Tryal in the Day
Pſ. xxxvi. of the Lord. *Thou haſt try'd us with Fire*, ſaith *David, therefore we ſhall all of us be*

be tried by Fire. And Malachi says, Behold he comes, the Lord, the Almighty God, and who shall abide the Day of his Coming? and who shall stand when he appeareth? For he shall come like the Fire of a Furnace; and he shall sit as a Refiner and a Purifier of Silver; and he shall purify the Sons of Levi. *Therefore, the Sons of* Levi *shall be purified with Fire, with Fire* Ezekiel, *and* Daniel *with Fire,* &c. See Ezek. xxii. 18, 19, &c. & Zach. xiii. 9. With several other Things that have the same Tendency. Again in the Exposition of *Psalm* cxviii. *All those who desire to return to Paradise must be tried by Fire,* &c. *And this,* says he, *is signified by the flaming waving Sword, that is placed at the Entrance of Paradise.* Lastly, he thus concludes; *Since, therefore, we are thus to be tried, let us so comport ourselves, that we may merit the Approbation of the divine Justice. Let us hold fast our Humility while we are here, that when each of you shall come to the Judgment of God, to those Fires through which we must all pass, he may say, Behold my Humility, Lord, and deliver me.*

BASILIUS MAGNUS was of the same Age and Opinion, and sufficiently declares his Mind in his Commentaries upon the first Chapters of *Isaiah.* And, first, in his Commentary on the fourth Chapter, when the Prophet speaks *of washing away the Filth of the Daughters of* Jerusalem *by the Spirit of Judg-* Ver. 4.

ment, and by the Spirit of Burning, here *Basilius* distinguishes the Baptism of Water, from that of the Spirit, and both from that of Burning, which, says he, is ἡ ἐν τῷ πυρὶ τῆς κρίσεως βάσανος, *The Trial that in the Day of Judgment will be made by Fire.* And he adds, τὸ δὲ πνεύματι κρίσεως καὶ πνεύματι καύσεως πρὸς τὴν ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι αἰῶνι διὰ τοῦ πυρὸς δοκιμασίαν, *These Words*, says he, *by the Spirit of Judgment, and by the Spirit of Burning, relate to the Trial that will be made by Fire in the Life to come:* With several Things besides to the same Purpose. Besides, upon that of the Prophet, Ver. 19. in the ninth Chapter, *Because of the Indignation of the Lord*, &c. he says, δείκνυσι ὅτι τὰ γήϊνα τῷ πυρὶ τῷ κολαστικῷ παραδίδοται, ἐπὶ εὐεργεσίᾳ τῆς ψυχῆς, *He shews that all that is earthly is, for the Benefit of the Soul, to be committed to penal Fire.* He then adds, *The Prophet here does not threaten a total Destruction, an universal Extermination, but points at a Purification, according to the Opinion of the Apostle: If any Man's Work shall burn, he shall suffer Damage, but he himself shall be saved, yet so as by Fire:* See also, if you please, his *Treatise of the Holy Ghost*, Chap. xv. & xxix. and his Observations upon several Passages in *Isaiah*.*

"As in Chap. vi. p. 172. & Chap. xi. p. 224, &c.

So

* And in his *Heptaemeron*, where he treats of the Formation of the Sun, *p.* 61. he asserts, that in the future Con-

So much for *Basilius*, to whom we may join both the *Gregories*, *Nyssen* and *Nazianzen*, who both agree with *Basilius*. But *Nyssen* is the plainer of the two, in the Explication of this Doctrine; and, therefore, *Germanus*, the *Constantinopoletan* Patriarch, writ an Apologetick Discourse, on Purpose to free his Author from the Imputation of that Opinion, and from other Things relating to that Opinion, as from so many Spots and Stains, which are here and there scattered among his Works, as you may see in *Photius*: But all in vain. Consult at your Leisure *Nyssen*'s *Treatise of the Soul, and the Resurrection*, and his *Catechetical Orations*, c. viii, xxvi, and xxxv. and, upon reading those, you will easily discover what was the Sense of the Author relating to this Matter.* Cod. 223.

NAZIANZEN seems to have a good deal in him of the Manner of *Plato* and *Origen*; and even in this Subject, as well as in others: But Orators, and all that harangue the Peo-

Conflagration, its enlightening Quality will be separated from the burning Quality; so that the former will affect the Righteous, and the latter the Wicked.

* Moreover, in his *Oration for the Dead*, he has these Words about the purifying of Souls: *They are either purify'd in this Life by Prayers and Philosophy, or after Death by the Means of a purifying Fire.* Nor is it any Wonder that *Nyssen* followed *Basil* so closely; since in his *Hexaem. p.* 2, & 5. he esteems his Writings next to those that were divinely inspired, and equals them even to those of *Moses*.

ple, ſometimes ſpeak popularly, and ſometimes their real Sentiments; which, in reading the Fathers, a ſenſible Reader always ought to obſerve; and the more what he ſays differs from the Notions of the People, the more it diſcovers the real Senſe of the Author. Conſult, if you pleaſe, his thirty-ninth, and his fortieth Oration, where he treats of the Baptiſm of Fire, in order to purge the Soul, and at the ſame Time doubts, whether there are any ſuch Things as everlaſting Puniſhments. Laſtly, in his twenty-ſixth Oration, where he ſpeaks of the Cenſurers of this Doctrine, he has theſe Words, ὁ Θεὸς οἶδε, φησὶν ὁ Θεῖος Ἀπόστολος, καὶ δηλώσει σαφῶς ἡ τῆς ἀποκαλύψεως ἡμέρα, καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον πῦρ, ᾧ πάντα κρίνεται ἢ καθαίρεται τὰ ἡμέτερα. *God only knows, ſays the divine Apoſtle, and the Day of Revelation and the laſt Fire will make it clearly appear, that Fire in which every Thing that belongs to Humanity muſt be either tried or purged.*

Lastly, St. *Jerom* is accuſed by *Rufinus* of being a ſecret Favourer of the Doctrines of *Origen*, as is very well known, the moſt diſtinguiſhed of which, is, that which puts an End to the Puniſhments of the Damned as ſoon as their Malice is purged away. 'Tis none of my Buſineſs to reconcile this Quarrel between St. *Jerom* and *Rufinus*; but as for what relates to the Subject which I now am upon, St. *Jerom* ſeems at ſeveral

Times

Times to incline to more Sides than one, either by changing or diſſembling his Sentiments. And here I muſt repeat what I ſaid a little above, that thoſe Things go further towards diſcovering the real Sentiments of an Author, which he delivers contrary to the Senſe of the People, than thoſe which are ſpoke popularly, or which may be popularly underſtood. In the mean Time, for what immediately concerns the Matter which we are upon, the purging and cleanſing Souls in the Day of Judgment, and the putting an End at length to the Torments which they endure, (beſides what he ſays upon the fourth Chapter of *Amos*,) he clearly and diſtinctly opens his Mind, at the End of his Commentaries upon *Iſaiah*, in theſe Words; *And as we believe that the Torments of the Devil will be eternal, and of all thoſe Sinners and impious Perſons who have ſaid in their Hearts there is no God; ſo for thoſe Sinners, and thoſe impious Perſons who are yet Chriſtians, and whoſe Works ARE TO BE TRIED AND PURGED BY FIRE, we believe that the Sentence of the Judge will be moderate, and will be mingled with Mercy.* But at the ſame Time he gives us a Caution againſt ſpreading this Doctrine amongſt the Vulgar, leaſt they ſhould abuſe it, and grow more licentious upon it. But when St. *Jerom* excepts Demons, and Atheiſts, and Apoſtates, he, by that Exception, confirms the Rule as to thoſe

who

who are not excepted ; and he ſhews in another Place that he differs from *Origen*, after this Manner, and by this Diſtinction.*

'Tis ſufficient to have made theſe Obſervations from the Fathers who liv'd before the Time of St. *Auſtin*, in whoſe Time this Doctrine began to degenerate, of the Purgation of Souls by the laſt Fire, at the Day of Judgment. I ſay it began to degenerate into a ſpurious and adulterate Pugatory, and into an imaginary Fire, no where to be found in the Univerſe; which Fire, according to the Invention of theſe Innovators, receives human Souls immediately after their Separation from their Bodies ; yes, receives them before the Day of Judgment, before the Coming of our Lord, before the Conflagration of the World, receives them, and torments them. This we may very juſtly call a *Suppoſitious Purgatory ;* becauſe, forſooth, theſe worthy Doctors in the room of genuine Cathartick Fire, of which Mention is made by the ſacred Writers, and by the antient Fathers, have ſubſtituted one of a very different Kind, the adulterate Offspring of their own

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*To theſe *Suicerus* (under the Word Βαπτισμὸς, *p.* 630.) adds *Nazianzen* and *Damaſcene*. Conſult the Places quoted by him. To theſe add *Cæſarius Arlatenſis*, who ſays, that ſome Sins of the Juſtified will be expiated by Fire after the Reſurrection. Look for the Place in the Author in BB. PP. as *Cave* cites him. *Chryſoſtome* is likewiſe quoted to the ſame Purpoſe, but the Place does not occur to me at preſent.

own Brains. The purging Fire that is ſpoke of in the ſacred Writings, and mention'd by the Fathers, is to be a Fire kindled in the Day of the Lord, in the Day of Judgment, in the Day of the Conflagration of the World, as is moſt evident from thoſe Authors and Paſſages which we have cited above. But the Papiſts pretend, that their purging Fire is burning at this Day, nay, and has been burning ever ſince the World began, that is, ever ſince Death enter'd into the World, and the Souls of Tranſgreſſors departed from their Bodies, with all their Uncleanneſs about them. But in what Part of the Globe, I beſeech you, is this Fire burning? Is it beyond the Ocean in the other Hemiſphere? or is it here in ours? By what Inſtinct do human Souls ſpontaneouſly repair to it? or by what potent Lictor are they dragg'd to it, in ſpite of their Reluctancy? There is no ſuch Fire as this to be found, ſuch vaſt, ſuch laſting, ſuch perpetual Fire, upon the Superficies of this Globe; for by its own Light it would be diſcover'd: And if it lies buried in the Bowels of the Earth, it would at leaſt require ſome Vent, ſome Breathing-place, like that of our mountainous Volcano's, that it might not be ſuffocated by its own Smoke, and its own fuliginous Vapours. In Things which relate to the natural World, or any particular of it, Divines are often incurious or unskilful, and therefore they bring forth crude

crude Opinions, and indigeſted Thoughts, foreign from the Nature of Things. Behold this great and this dreadful Fire, which theſe Doctors have kindled for us; but they neither acquaint us with the Original of ſo vaſt a Fire, nor with the Fuel by which 'tis fed, nor with any proper and commodious Place where it may ſubſiſt and vent itſelf. Theſe Things, ſay they, the People are never concern'd about. 'Tis true, indeed; but then by the Wiſe this will be eſteem'd a fantaſtical Fire, of which no Account can be given; and 'tis next to Stupidity to loſe Men of Senſe, in order to gain Fools. 'Tis both a Crime and a Weakneſs in the Popiſh Religion, that it deſcends too much to the Capacites of the People, and not only accommodates itſelf to their Ignorance, but to their ſuperſtitious Affections. We ought rather to exalt human Nature as high as is poſſible, and to bring the People to Truth, and to a ſound Underſtanding. Ever ſince there have been Men in the World, the Knowledge of Mankind has increas'd, and increaſes daily: And whatever the Caſe was formerly, there is now no Neceſſity of uſing pious Frauds, and no Advantage can accrue to Religion from them. They rather ſeem to be detrimental to Piety and Chriſtian Faith; when diſcerning Men who find the Deceit, raſhly pronounce, from the Artifice that is us'd in ſome particular Parts of it, that the Whole of Religion is nothing but a gainful

Myſtery

Myſtery. Firſt, that the Chriſtian Religion is to be purg'd from human Inventions, and from human Additions; then, thoſe Things which, in the ſacred Writings, are ſpoken after the Manner of Men, and adapted to the Capacity of the Vulgar, are ſo to be interpreted, that they may neither be detrimental to Truth itſelf, nor Stumbling-Blocks to the Wiſe. But theſe Things by-the-by.

BUT enough has been ſaid by way of Inquiry into the Manner of the laſt Judgment, the Puniſhments that will be the Sequel of it, and the Diſtinction that is to be made between righteous and wicked Men; what will be the Pomp and Magnificence of its dreadful Appearance, and what will be tranſacted by Influence divine, or by the Power of Nature. The Opinion of the antient Fathers in this Matter has an Appearance of Truth, and ſeems to be founded on the ſacred Writings; But ſince Revelation in this Matter is neither full nor explicit, nor is the Light of Nature powerful enough to penetrate to the Bottom of this Myſtery, I look upon this Article of the Chriſtian Doctrine, as for the Thing itſelf, to be among the Points that are clear, but as to the Manner of it, to be among the obſcure ones.

BESIDES, ſeveral Diſputes are wont to ariſe here concerning the *Signs* antecedent to the general Judgment, and concerning the Time and Duration of it; concerning each

each of which we have given our Opinion in the foresaid *Treatise of the Conflagration of the World.* I only desire to add one Thing, and that is, that the Christians of the first Ages, in their Accounts of Time, made a very wrong Calculation; for they believ'd in common, that the Day of the Lord was coming upon them then, or that it would be at least in the Age in which they liv'd: But though sixteen Centuries have pass'd since then, and half of the current Century, that happy Day has not yet shone forth, nor have we hitherto discern'd so much as the Dawn of it.

THIS Opinion, that the End of all Things was coming upon them, began in the Apostolick Times; from which it ran down for several Ages, as well to the * Learned as to the People. But when they found they were mistaken in this first Account, by which they daily expected the Coming of the

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* *Tertull. de Cult. Fœm. l.* 2. *c.* 9. and *ad Uxor. l.* 1. *c.* 5. *Lactant. l.* 7. *c.* 14, & 25. *Ambrose Orat. in Obit. Satyri frat.* and *l.* 9. upon *Luke* xxi. *Chrysost. Hom.* xxxiii. upon *John*, near the End. *Jerom. Epist.* xi. *ad Agerucchiam*, and *l.* 4. on *Mat.* xxv. Many of the Antients believed, that the Coming of Christ would immediately follow the Coming of Antichrist, whom they thought to be at hand just then, and consequently that the Coming of the Lord, and the End of the World were very near. See *Tertull. de Resurr. Carn. c.* 27. *Cyprian*, his Disciple, *Epist. ad Tribaritanos, m.* 56. and *Epist.* 58. *ad Lucium Pap.* and *Præfat. ad Fortunatum de Exhor. Martyrii*, with many others. See 1 *John* ii. 18. and 2 *Thess.* ii. 8.

the Lord, or at leaſt immediately after the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, they carried their Hope and their Expectation to a greater Length of Time, but never to a very remote one. That this Opinion began in the very Times of the Apoſtles, the Epiſtles both of St. *Paul* and St. *Peter* teſtify. St. *Paul*, in the ſecond Epiſtle to the *Theſſalonians*, warns them againſt being terrified, as if the Day of the Lord were at Hand; *for firſt*, ſays he, *Antichriſt muſt come*. But he neither acquaints them with the Time of his coming, nor with the Time of his ſtaying: All that he tells them is, that he will ſtay till the Coming of Chriſt. Then thoſe Scoffers which we read of in St. *Peter*'s ſecond Epiſtle, Chap. iii. 4. would hardly have upbraided the Chriſtians with the tardy Coming of their Lord; would hardly have ask'd them, by way of Deriſion, *Where is the Promiſe of his Coming?* unleſs the Chriſtians had often profeſs'd and declar'd their Belief in the Promiſe of his ſudden Coming; nor does the Apoſtle, in his Anſwer or Apology, deny the Thing, but attributes this Delay to the Mercy and Long-ſuffering of God. Chap. ii. 2.

But why ſhould we wonder that private Chriſtians, or Chriſtians of a lower Claſs, ſhould be miſtaken in this Particular, when the Interpreters gather, that the Apoſtles themſelves, from their own Writings, were of the ſame Opinion: Nor do they only conclude

conclude it from this, that the Apoſtles often call thoſe Times, and that current Century, the laſt of Times, and the End of the World, (1 Cor. x. 11. Heb. ix. 26. 1 Joh. ii. 18.) but from their uſing it as a Spur, or a more pungent Argument to excite the Chriſtians of their own Times to Vigilance, to Sobriety, to Moderation in the Uſe of worldly Things; to Patience, to good Works, to Charity, and to Piety. (Heb. x. 24, 25. 1 Pet. iv. 7, 8. 1 Cor. vii. 29. 2 Pet. iii. 11, 12. Phil. iv. 5.) Laſtly, from their believing that the Coming of the Lord, and the Day of Judgment might come upon them while they were yet living. St. *Paul* often inculcates that, 1 *Theſſ.* iv. 15, 16, 17. 1 Cor. xv. 52. And, that his mortal Body would be ſwallowed up of Life, that is, by an immortal quickening Body, [he either believes or deſires,] and that he may not be found naked, or diveſted of Fleſh and corporeal Subſtance in the Day of the Lord.

Vid. Grot. in loc.

2 Cor. v. 3, 4.

Thus much for the Apoſtles, and their Belief concerning the untimely Coming of Chriſt. But from whence did the Apoſtles derive this Opinion? Why, it ſeems, from the Words of Chriſt himſelf, not rightly underſtood. His Diſciples had enquir'd of Chriſt what would be the Time of the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, and of his own Coming. And when Chriſt had acquainted them with the Signs and Circumſtances of that

Mat. xxiv. 3.

that Deſtruction, he adds, ἐυθέως μετὰ τὴν θλῖψιν, &c. *Immediately after the Tribulation of thoſe Days, the Sun ſhall be darken'd, and the Moon ſhall not give her Light, and the Stars ſhall fall from Heaven, and the Powers of the Heavens ſhall be ſhaken: And then ſhall appear the Sign of the Son of Man in Heaven: And then* Mat. xxiv. 29, 30. *ſhall all the Tribes of the Earth mourn, and they ſhall ſee the Son of Man coming in the Clouds of Heaven, with Power and great Glory.* Having heard theſe Things from the Mouth of Chriſt, that after the Deſtruction of the City and the Temple, and the Overthrow of the *Jewiſh* State, he would immediately come, or that the Son of Man would come in the Clouds, with Power and great Glory: Having heard this, they believ'd that there would be but a ſmall Interval of Time between that Deſtruction and the Return of Chriſt; and they afterwards tranſmitted to their Diſciples that Knowledge, and that Belief. Beſides, when they recollected other Sayings of Chriſt, it confirm'd and fix'd them in the ſame Opinion; for he had ſaid before, that ſome of thoſe who ſtood near him ſhould not taſte of Death before they ſaw him coming in the Glory of his Father to Judgment. And in the Mar. xvi. 27, 28. Mat. xxiv. 34, 35. foreſaid Chapter, after he had ſpoke concerning his Coming, and the Wonders that ſhould attend it, he added, *Verily, I ſay unto you, there be ſome ſtanding here which*

ſhall not taſte of Death till they ſee the Son of Man coming in his Kingdom: Heaven and Earth ſhall paſs away, but my Words ſhall not paſs away. Laſtly, when *Peter* enquir'd of Chriſt what ſhould be the Fate of *John*, he anſwer'd, *if I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?*

Joh. xxi. 20, 21.

THESE Paſſages being compar'd together, and underſtood according to the Letter, I wonder not in the leaſt that the Diſciples of Chriſt ſhould have imbib'd the Opinion of his ſudden Return to the Earth, to judge the Living and the Dead: And I as little wonder that Providence would ſuffer them to fall into theſe harmleſs Errors; Errors, by which Piety would be rather promoted than injur'd; and a noble Reſolution to ſuffer inſtant Death in the Cauſe of God would be rather increas'd than leſſen'd. Laſtly, we ought by no Means to wonder, that God ſhould conceal that from the Apoſtles which he had hid from the Angels, and from the Son of Man himſelf: *For*, ſaith Chriſt, *of that Day and Hour knoweth no Man; no, not the Angels which are in Heaven, neither the Son, but the Father;* or, as it is in St. *Matthew*, Chap. xxiv. 36. *but my Father only.**

Mar. xiii. 32.

AND thus we have given a Relation of theſe Things conformable to the Letter, and

* See PP. of this Way of interpreting this Place, Gerard. Tom. 9. de Extrem. Jud. p. 126.

and to the Hiſtory. But if a literal Explication is not ſo ſuitable to the Subject of which we treat, we muſt depart from the Letter, and ſearch and look out for a more commodious Interpretation: But this at leaſt is apparent, that the certain Time of the future Judgment, of the Coming of the Lord, or of the End of the World, were Things unknown to the Apoſtles: And the Anſwer of Chriſt ſeems to imply, that we ought not to make too ſollicitous an Inquiry into them: When the Apoſtles enquired after the Time of the Reſtoration of the Kingdom to *Iſrael*, Acts i. 7. he ſays to them, *'Tis not for you to know the Times and the Seaſons which the Father hath put in his own Power.* But if we are allow'd to uſe a round Calculation, and to inſert Conjectures among Certainties; when now five thouſand Years compleat, and what is given of the ſixth thouſand, are paſt and gone, ſince the Creation of the World, I can find nothing in Scripture, or in Reaſon, or in the Courſe of human Affairs, that can hinder the Accompliſhment of that Prophecy which has been received by * *Jews*, as well as by the primitive Chriſtians; a Prophecy which allows ſix thouſand Years for the Duration of the World, and then the Sabbath is to enſue: But we have treated of this Subject ſufficiently in another Theor. Tell. l. 3. c. 5.

* See the Hiſtory of this Prophecy, Gerard. Tom. 9. de Extrem. Jud. p. 127.

Place. In the mean time, let it be our principal Care that we may be found pure and unblameable in that Day; and that the Tryal which we are to undergo, what, or whenever it be, may have a happy Iſſue, to the Glory of God and our own eternal Salvation.

2 Pet. iii. 14.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Reſurrection of the Dead; and in what State they will be after they are riſen, and what Sort of Bodies they will have.

THUS far we have already gone; but the Chapter of the greateſt Conſequence, and the moſt important Concern is ſtill remaining, concerning the Reſurrection of the Dead, and in what Condition they will find themſelves after they are riſen; in the handling which we ſhall follow our uſual Method: In the firſt Place, we ſhall ſpeak to the Thing itſelf, and afterwards to the Modes and Adjuncts of it, and that according to the Light we have receiv'd either from the ſacred Writings, or from the Nature of the Things themſelves.

As for the Thing itſelf, nothing is more clearly revealed than that in the whole Chriſtian Doctrine: Both the *Jews* and the *Gentiles*

Gentiles had likewiſe ſome Idea of a future Reſurrection, but an Idea that was general and confus'd. The former believ'd that the whole World would be reviv'd, and that every Individual of Mankind would, together with the World, be renew'd and reviv'd; and nothing is more commonly found than that among the *Stoicks* and the *Platonicks*: Nor was it only found among the *Grecian* Philoſophers, but originally among thoſe of the Eaſtern Nations, *Egyptians*, *Chaldeans*, *Perſians*. *Theopompus*, in *Laërtius*, ſays of the Magi, ἀναβιώσεσθαι κατὰ τὰς Μάγους τὰς ἀνθρώπους, *that Men liv'd or would live a ſecond Life, according to the Doctrine of the Magi.* In Procem.

See the Theory of the Earth. B. 4. c. 5.

As for what relates to the *Jews*, *Moſes* in his Law taught them nothing expreſly, either concerning the Reſurrection of the Body, or the Immortality of the Soul; yet I make no Doubt but that both theſe were known to *Moſes* and to the * *Sages*, inſtructed

* But they, for the moſt part, confine the Reſurrection to the Juſt, and to the *Iſraelites*. See *Buxtor. Syn. Jud. c.* 1. *p.* 31. and *Gerard. de Reſurr. Tom.* 8. *p.* 869. *Antepen.* and *Daſſovius*.

Again, they ſeem to mean the firſt Reſurrection to a terreſtrial Life, and to have no further Notion of celeſtial Bodies.

Some of their Rabbins ſuppoſe, likewiſe, that they are to riſe again not only with the ſame Bodies, but in the ſame Cloaths alſo: But they confine all this to the Land of *Canaan* only, and ſay, that the Bodies of ſuch *Iſraelites*

ted by him, and conſcious to the ſecret Doctrine. Afterwards this Doctrine was deliver'd συμβολικῶς, *conjecturally*, by ſome of the Prophets, and by ſome of the ſacred Canonical Writers more clearly, and at length by *Daniel* the Prophet moſt perſpicuouſly. But yet this Doctrine of Salvation was not to ſhine out with a full Meridian Glare, nor to be compleat in all its Parts, nor accompliſhed in all its Numbers, till the Days of the Meſſiah.

In this, then, we Chriſtians triumph, upon this joyful Meſſage, that Death being conquer'd, and the infernal World overcome, we ſhall be brought and reſtor'd to Light, and to the Enjoyment of a bliſsful Immortality; not in the coarſe Cloathing of theſe Carcaſſes which now we carry about us, but in heavenly Bodies; nor living and converſing upon this Dunghill, where we at preſent languiſh, but above, in the Brightneſs of ætherial Regions, in the charming Seats and Society of Angels, through endleſs Ages happy. Lift up your Heads, then, O ye Chriſtians! raiſe your Minds and Thoughts to the Skies! *And ſince we have theſe Promiſes, let us cleanſe ourſelves from all Filthineſs of the Fleſh and Spirit, perfecting*

2 Cor. vii. 1.

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lites as have died in foreign Countries ſhall return home through ſome ſubterraneous Caverns, or at leaſt that the Bone Luz ſhall do ſo; and from thence, as from its Seed, the whole Body ſhall grow up again. See *Daſon. de Reſurr. mort. ſecundum Judæos.*

fecting Holineſs in the Fear of God. Having ſuccinctly made theſe Remarks, let us now with all our Diligence explore upon what Paſſages of ſacred Scripture, upon what Authority divine, this ſo exalted Hope of the Chriſtians, this animating, this inſpiring Hope, is founded and depends.

IN the firſt Place, Chriſt himſelf often aſſerted that Men after Death would riſe again, and often promiſed it to his; and affirm'd that the Power of doing it was in himſelf, as Lord of Life, and of Death: And that he was not unable to raiſe up others, he plainly demonſtrates, in that he was able to raiſe up himſelf from the Dead. Firſt he maintain'd the Reſurrection againſt the *Sa-* Matt. xxii. *ducees*, and maintain'd it by the ſtrongeſt Argument that could be drawn from the *Moſaick* Writings, which alone, by Perſons of that Sect, were held authentick and canonical: Then he promiſes Rewards ἐν τῇ Luke xiv. ἀναστάσει τῶν δικαίων, *in the Reſurrection of* 14. *the Juſt*, to thoſe who are Benefactors to the Needy and the Infirm, from whom in this Life they can expect no Compenſation. But to his Diſciples, and to thoſe who loſt every Thing that they had in this World, in order to become ſuch, he promiſes Things, ἐν τῇ Matt. xix. παλιγγενεσίᾳ, *at their ſecond Birth*, or *at* 28. *their Reſurrection*, which are greater and more conſpicuous. Beſides he openly and clearly affirms that Dominion over Life and Death is in him, and that he, by his own Power,

by his own Voice, will cauſe the Dead to ariſe from their Graves. Firſt of all, in the Beginning of the *Revelations*, where in theſe Words he ſpeaks to St. *John*, *I am the Firſt and the Laſt; I am he that liveth and was dead; and, behold, I am alive for evermore,* Amen, *and have the Keys of Hell and of Death.* In the next Place, in the Goſpel of the ſame St. *John*, he ſeveral Times ſays the ſame Thing, *Cap.* vi. *ver.* 40. *And this is the Will of him that ſent me, That every one which ſeeth the Son, and believeth on him, may have everlaſting Life: And I will raiſe him up at the laſt Day.* In the next Place, in the ſame Goſpel of St. *John*, he ſays to *Martha. I am the Reſurrection, and the Life: He that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet ſhall he live. And whoſoever liveth, and believeth in me, ſhall never die.* And laſtly, in the fifth Chapter of the ſame Goſpel, you will find both theſe in Conjunction: *As the Father hath Life in himſelf, ſo hath he given to the Son to have Life in himſelf. And hath given him Authority to execute Judgment alſo, becauſe he is the Son of Man. Marvel not at this, for the Hour is Coming, when all that are in the Graves ſhall hear his Voice, and ſhall come forth; they that have done Good, to the Reſurrection of Life; and they that have done Evil, to the Reſurrection of Damnation.*

Chap. i. 17, 18.

Chap. xi.

Ver. 26, 27, &c.

All

ALL these Things being taken from the Mouth of Christ himself, abundantly prove the future Resurrection of the Dead. But Faith is animated and confirmed when Facts corroborate Words; and he has given us many Examples, that he is able to perform what he hath promis'd us. Therefore Christ, when he was here upon Earth, did not only cause others to rise from the Dead, which I must confess was formerly done by the Prophets before him, but he likewise raised up himself from the Dead, after he had been crucify'd, dead, and buried; for, shaking off the Bands of Death on the third Day, the Soul fled Back to its sacred Relicts, and inspir'd them with immortal Life.

'TIS in this that we Christians glory, in this Victory thus extorted from the last and most potent Enemy, from the King of Terrors. Did ever any of the *Grecian* Sages, or of the Oriental *Magi*, did ever any of the Philosophers of what Name or Nation soever, did ever any of the renown'd Legislators, or lastly, any of the sacred Prophets rise from the Dead, lay down his Life, and resume it? Was ever any of those victorious over Death, and return'd to the Living? No, only this our Captain, this our God, led Death and Hell in Triumph: And 'tis from this Conqueror only that we expect both a joyful Deliverance from Death, and a blissful Immortality.

NOR

Nor did this Reſurrection from Death happen to Chriſt, as to one who never thought of it, who never hoped for it, who never in the leaſt expected it, and as an Action performed by another's Power: He not only knew that this would happen, but he foretold it both to his Diſciples and others, and foretold that it would happen within three Days after his Death. He ſaid to the *Jews*, *Deſtroy this Temple, and in three Days I will raiſe it up again. But he ſpoke of the Temple of his Body*, ſays the interpreting Apoſtle. And his Accuſers afterwards brought this Saying as a Crime againſt him. And the chief Prieſts and Phariſees remembring this, deſired of *Pilate* that the Sepulchre might be guarded; which was accordingly done. Beſides, Chriſt had ſaid ſomething like this to the *Jews* before, when they deſired from him a Token of his divine Miſſion: *As* Jonas *was three Days and three Nights in the Body of the Whale, ſo will the Son of Man be three Days and three Nights in the Heart of the Earth.* This is ſufficiently plain, and the Angel reproaches the Women who came to ſeek the Body of Chriſt in the Sepulchre, after he was riſen, with the Forgetfulneſs of thoſe Things: *He is not here but is riſen: Remember how he ſpake unto you when he was yet in* Galilee, *ſaying, the Son of Man muſt be delivered into the Hands of ſinful Men, and be crucified, and the third Day riſe again: And*

Mark viii. 31. Joh. ii. 22.

Joh. ii. 19, 21.

Mat. xxvi. 61.

Mat. xxvii. 62, 63, &c.

Mat. xii. 40.

Luc. xxiv. 6, 7, 8.

And they remembered his Words; as likewise did his Disciples. Joh. ii. 22.

Nor did he only by Signs and Parables, but very often by expres Words, foretel both his Death and his Resurrection, and that each of them would be spontaneous. *Therefore doth my Father love me, because I lay down my Life, that I might take it again. No Man taketh it from me, but I lay it down of myself: I have Power to lay it down, and I have Power to take it up again.* Joh. x. 18. Then he says afterwards, *A little while and ye shall not see me; and again a little while and ye shall see me, because I go to the Father;* Joh. xvi. 16. which he afterwards shews is meant of his Death, and of his second Coming.

And this Power that he had, when he pleased to use it, of preserving his Life safe and inviolable, appeared as clear as the Meridian Sun Day, when his Enemies coming upon him, he all of a sudden rendered himself invisible, and them confounded and impotent. Nay, by the Virtue of his Look alone, by the very radiant Light of his Countenance, he terrify'd and dispirited those who came with a Design to destroy him. Lastly, in his Transfiguration upon the holy Mountain, he converted himself wholly into a vital Flame, as it were, into a refulgent Body, of Angelick Form, or rather of divine Glory. By which Transformation of his Body, he sufficiently shew'd, that he had Joh. viii. 59. Luc. iv. 30. Mat. xvii. Joh. xvi. 6. Mat. xxviii. 3.

Life

Dan. x. 5, 6. 2 Pet. i. 16, 17. Life in himſelf, and that it was in his Power, as often as it was his Pleaſure, to trample upon Death, and to ſwallow up all Mortality. And let me add, ſince 'tis to my Purpoſe, that in this his Glorification, bringing down *Moſes* and *Elias* from Heaven, both living, and both immortal, he, in them, gave us Pledges and Examples of our own Immortality, and our future Reſurrection; which appeared more openly afterwards, when upon the Reſurrection of Chriſt, divers of the Saints riſing together from the Dead with him, appeared to many in *Jeruſalem*, *Mat.* xxvii. 52, 53.

Lastly, That I may put an End to this Diſcourſe, Chriſt did not only riſe from the Dead, but he aſcended likewiſe into Heaven. After he had gotten a Victory he triumph'd: And being carried in a radiant Cloud, as it were, in a triumphal Chariot, his Diſciples beholding him with Aſtoniſhment, and Troops of Angels attending him, he returned to his antient Seat, to what was his Country from all Eternity, and to God the Father. This is the only true Apotheoſis, which the antient *Cæſars*, and the Heroes of old, and others renown'd in the Heathen World for their ſurpaſſing Merit, their Fortitude, and their Wiſdom; all of them in vain affected. And now, ſince Chriſt our Saviour has ſaid, and has done all this, both among the Living and the Dead, and reigns at length in the Heaven of Heavens endued with a glorious Body,

'tis

'tis but just that we should believe what he has taught, and promised us concerning our own Resurrection to be certain, established, and unchangeable.

HAVING thus compendiously laid before you the Sayings, and the Actions of Christ, which relate to our Resurrection, the Apostolical Doctrine * of the Resurrection follows concerning the same Subject, which being agreeable to what has been already said, is something more diffuse, and comprehends several Heads: But principally let us observe this, that the Resurrection of the Body is never attributed by the Apostles to natural Causes, or natural Power, but always to divine Operation; and very

* These Testimonies of the Apostles require some farther Consideration: In the first Place then we must observe, that the Apostles, in their Preachings to the *Jews* and *Gentiles* after Christ was ascended, always began with this Assertion, *That Christ was risen from the Dead:* From whence they established the Christian Religion on a double Foundation, *That Jesus of* Nazareth *was the* Messiah; and likewise, *That there was to be a future Resurrection from the Dead.* While Jesus was upon Earth, he proved himself to be the Messiah by his Miracles, and the concurring Testimonies of the Prophets: But when he was risen from the Dead, and had ascended up into Heaven in the Sight of the Apostles, they thence took a new Argument to demonstrate, both that the same Jesus was the Messiah, and likewise farther, that the Hopes of Christians concerning a future Resurrection and eternal Life, were firmly founded on him. Hence in the Acts of the Apostles we find, that this Topick was always insisted upon by the first Apostolical Preachers of the Gospel, in all their Sermons. See Examples of this Kind in *Gerard. Tom.* viii. *de Resurrect. p.* 733. *c.* xvi. and * * *.

very frequently to Christ our Lord, whom alone we have hitherto made the Author of this admirable Work. In that solemn Dis-
1 Cor. xv. sertation of St. *Paul*, concerning the future Resurrection of the Body, he makes Christ the Author of our Resurrection, both in the Beginning, Middle, and End of his Discourse; to which he gives so strict a Connexion with the Resurrection of our Lord, that they both must be granted or denied to-
Ver. 12. gether: *If Christ*, says he, *be preached that he rose from the Dead, how say some among you that there is no Resurrection of the Dead?* where he supposes our Resurrection to be the undeniable Consequence of the Resurrection of Christ: But then, says he, on the
Ver. 13, 16. other Side, *If there be no Resurrection of the Dead, then is Christ not risen:* And therefore he very justly, in the Beginning of this Discourse, proves the Resurrection of Christ by abundance of Testimonies, as the Foundation of his Doctrine and Institution concerning our own Resurrection.

Besides, he places the Root of all celestial Life in Christ, as in *Adam* the Root of all Mortality, whom, therefore, he makes the Type, or the ἀντίτοιχον of Christ: *For*
Ver. 21, 22. *as in* Adam *all Men die, so in Christ shall all be made alive;* whom, therefore, he
Ver. 45. says, was made εἰς πνεῦμα ζωοποιοῦν, *a quickening Spirit.* Lastly, by the same Jesus Christ, he insults over Death and Hell, now conquer'd both, and disarm'd, *O Death!*

Death! where is thy Sting? O Grave! Ver. 55, 57.
where is thy Victory? Thanks be to God, who giveth us the Victory through Jesus Christ our Lord. For he had said before, *For he must reign till he hath put all Enemies under his Feet: The last Enemy that shall be destroy'd, is Death*; but Death cannot be destroy'd but by an universal Resurrection. Ver. 25, 26.

NOR is it only in this Chapter, but in others, as often as Occasion offers itself, that he teaches us that the Cause and Origin of our Resurrection is founded in that of Christ, and that he, by his Resurrection, was constituted Lord of the Living and of the Dead, and of the future Judgment that is to succeed the Resurrection: *For ye are dead, and your Life is hid with Christ in God; but when Christ, who is our Life, shall appear, then shall ye also appear with him in Glory,* says the same Apostle to the *Colossians*, Chap. iii. ver. 3, 4. And he says likewise to the *Philippians*, *For our Conversation is in Heaven, from whence also we look for the Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall change our vile Body, that it may be fashion'd like unto his glorious Body, according to the Working whereby he is able to subdue all Things to himself.* Rom. xiv. 9. Acts xvii. 31. Chap. iii. 20, 21.

I should be tedious if I should here produce more Passages, (especially since they are sufficiently known,) to prove from Christ our Head, *the First-born of the Dead,* 1 Pet. iii. 3, 4. 2 Cor. iv. 14. 1 Joh. v. 11, 12.

(Col.

(Col. i. 18) *the first Fruits of those that sleep*, (1 Cor. xv. 20.) to prove, I say, that from his Influence and his Power the Hope of our Resurrection depends; nor yet does it so far depend upon Christ, that it does not likewise depend originally upon God the Father; both Christ and his Apostles often affirm that, *Act.* ii. 24. & 32. *Gal.* i. 1. *Eph.* i. 19. 1 *Cor.* vi. 14. *Heb.* xiii. 20. It depends also in some Manner upon the Holy Ghost, and both concur in this divine Operation. So the Apostle to the *Romans* teaches us, Chap. viii. 11. *But if the Spirit of him that raised up Jesus from the Dead dwell in you, he that raised up Christ from the Dead shall also quicken your mortal Bodies, by his Spirit that dwelleth in you.*

Joh. v. 26. & xvii. 2.

Nor do I at all wonder, that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, should, in some manner, co-operate in the Resurrection of the Dead, since 'tis like a new Creation, when numberless Souls are all at once, from an invisible State, brought forth into Light, as it were, from nothing, and all of them reinvested with Bodies of their several Kinds; nay, the Souls themselves have, as it were, a Regeneration, or a παλιγγενεσια, a new Life, and a new World, and all Things around them new: And therefore the Apostle does, with a mighty Emphasis of Words, set forth all the mighty Power of God, as employed

employed and exerted in producing this wonderful Work, *Eph.* i. 19.

HITHERTO we have set forth the Certainty or Stability of our Resurrection, and the efficient Causes of it from the sacred Writings: And all these are clearly reveal'd. Let us now proceed to Things that are less clearly and less expressly determin'd. And here the Question first offers itself which is propos'd by the Apostle, *viz. With what Sort of Bodies Men shall rise again?* Πῶς ἐγείρονται οἱ νεκροί; ποίῳ δὲ σώματι ἔρχονται; *How are the Dead raised up? or with what Body do they come?* That we may answer this Question, and discover the Qualities of that Body with which we are to be cloath'd at the Resurrection, we must observe, in the first Place, what Powers and what Qualities the sacred Writers attribute to such a Body. Upon this, allowing these, which, upon the Testimony of the Scripture, we know belongs to those Bodies, we are to enquire farther what other more particular Qualities, by a just Reasoning, may be deduced from them, and which may more nearly and intimately discover the Nature and physical Constitution of those Bodies. Lastly, we must consult the Nature of Things, which must be call'd in to our Aid, when we are enquiring into corporeal Beings, that we impute nothing, through our Ignorance, to the sacred Oracles, that is incongruous or absurd. 1 Cor. xv. 35.

But that we may act compendiously, that Question of the Apostle, *With what Bodies are we to arise?* seems chiefly to include two Things: First, *with what Body?* that is, whether with an organical Body, and a Body like that which at present we carry about us; or whether with a Body that is inorganical, and of another Form, and another Order from that which we have at present. But secondly, *with what Body?* that is, whether with a gross and closely compacted Body, such as we now have, or with a thin, a loose, and a light one, resembling Air or Æther. One of these doubtful Points, you see, respects the Form of our future Body, and the other the Matter; and if we can give a good Account of both these, we shall, I presume, give a satisfactory Answer to the propounded Question.

Now 'tis from the sacred Writings that we must bring the Answer to both Parts of the Question; and not only from this Chapter of *St. Paul* to the *Corinthians*, but from every Passage where either Christ or his Apostles explain the Conditions of those Bodies which we shall enjoy in the Heavens. Of these Conditions some are general and common, which can discover nothing certain or definitive in this kind: Others are special and proper, which may be call'd Characters, or Characteristical Tokens; to which, if we diligently attend, they will bring us to a Discovery of the Form or the Matter

Matter of the Bodies of the Beatified. We will, as the Nature of the Subject requires, divide these Characteristical Tokens into two Orders; the former of which will answer the first Part of the Question, and the latter the second Part. The four following sacred Characteristical Tokens seem to discover and to give us a View of the Form of our immortal Body, whether it is to be organical or inorganical. First, it will have no Occasion for either Belly or Edibles; secondly, of Flesh and Blood it will not consist; thirdly, it will be a Body not made with Hands, ἀχειροποίητον; and thereby, fourthly, it will be ἰσάγγελον, a Body by which we shall be like to the Angels. Each of these four Characters must be examin'd apart from the rest, that we may be able to discern what Validity each of them has, how much is implied in it, and how far it extends. As for the first, the Apostle speaks thus concerning it; *Meats are for the Belly, and the Belly for Meats; but God shall abolish both it and them.* But when will he abolish them? Not in this Life; therefore in the Life to come: Not in this mortal Body; therefore in the glorious and immortal Body. But if that Body will want a Belly, it will consequently want those Entrails, those Vessels, and all those Parts which are contain'd in the Cavity of that Belly. But all these being substracted, what Sort of Body will remain? Why, a Body that is maim'd, and

1 Cor. vi. 13.

whoſe Parts are ſeparated by empty Space; in ſhort, a Body altogether imperfect, if we regard the Nature of an organical Body. And then, the Parts which are under the Belly will either be wanting, or will be of no Uſe; of which we ſhall ſay more hereafter. Laſtly, the Thighs, the Legs, and Feet, are the neceſſary Inſtruments of Walking, and Walking is perform'd upon a Subſtance that is itſelf immovable. But ſince in the Air, or in the Heavens, there is no immovable Subſtance to tread on, there is neither Pavement, nor Porch, nor Gallery; there local Motion will be perform'd not after the Manner of Walking, but in the ſame Manner in which the Angels move. Theſe lower Parts of the Body then will be all of them together aboliſh'd, as uſeleſs and ſuperfluous.

Besides, where there is no Food, there can be no Nutrition; but ſeveral Faculties and ſeveral Organs were made on Purpoſe to be ſubſervient to Nutrition, which muſt likewiſe be aboliſh'd, when our Food is: Such are the Organs of Taſte, of Chewing and Swallowing; the Organs of Concoction, of Sanguification, and thoſe of Diſtribution; and not a few of the Glands are uſeful to Nutrition or Secretion. Now what organick Body can bear the Loſs of ſo many Parts! and yet the Body which we are to have muſt endure it all, if we have rightly calculated. Theſe numerous Parts, then, being thus ſeparated, or cut off from the Body,

Body, let us next consider what we are to determine concerning Flesh and Blood, whether they too are like to perish together with those which are mention'd before.

AFTER the Apostle had treated of the Qualities of blessed Bodies, at the End of that Discourse he adds; *But this I say unto you, Brethren, that Flesh and Blood cannot inherit the Kingdom of God.** The Apostle says absolutely *they cannot.* There is, it seems, some Repugnancy between the celestial State and the Conditions of Flesh and Blood; and therefore there is a Necessity that the Body, with which the Soul is invested in Heaven after the Resurrection, should be ἄναιμον καὶ ἄσαρκον, without Flesh, and without Blood. 1 Cor. xv. 50.

BUT you will say, perhaps, that Flesh and Blood, in this Expression of the Apostle, are not to be literally understood, but mystically, or allegorically, as they denote the Works of the Flesh, or moral Pravity and Impurity. To which I answer, first, that this is said without any Proof, and not only without any Proof, but against the receiv'd Rule of Interpreting; by which we are forced to depart from the Letter, unless we are urg'd by Necessity from the Nature

* In the Language of the Vulgar 'twas called the *Resurrection of the Flesh*, but wise Men understood it differently. See *Orig. p.* 132. *med.* τὴν ἀνακρυγ.

of the Thing, and of the Subject Matter; but here is no ſuch Neceſſity. Beſides, the reſt of the Characteriſtical Marks are ſo agreeable to this, and ſo nearly related to it, (as will clearly appear by what is to follow,) that we are rather on the other Side urg'd by Neceſſity, a Neceſſity of retaining the literal Senſe: For the Words that follow in the ſame Verſe ſufficiently ſhew, that *Fleſh and Blood* are to be underſtood phyſically, and not morally; for that which follows is, *Neither doth Corruption inherit Incorruption.* Corruption is there underſtood phyſically; and by φθορὰν the Apoſtle deſigns that we ſhould underſtand φθαρτὸν, this our corruptible Body; and by Incorruption an incorruptible State.

See *Grotius* and others.

Bᴜᴛ, perhaps, you will attempt to elude the Force of this Anſwer another Way; you will ſay, perhaps, that Fleſh and Blood, ſuch as we have at preſent, cannot inherit the Kingdom of Heaven; but that another Sort of Fleſh and Blood, ſuch as we are to have after the Reſurrection, may inherit it. But to anſwer effectually to this, the Apoſtle no where at this Rate diſtinguiſhes between two Kinds of Fleſh and Blood, the corruptible Kind, and the incorruptible. He, indeed, mentions ſeveral Kinds of Fleſh, as of Men, of Beaſts, of Fiſh, and of Fowls, and all theſe are alike corruptible; but he no where makes mention of Fleſh that is incorruptible, tho' a fair Occaſion offers itſelf. He no where

Ver. 39.

where uſes this Diſtinction among ſeveral others, *Corruptible Fleſh is one Thing, and Fleſh incorruptible another Thing.* On the contrary, he ſeems to ſuppoſe, or to take it for granted, that all Fleſh and Blood are corruptible, and conſequently lays down an univerſal Propoſition, without Limitation or Diſtinction, *Fleſh and Blood cannot inherit the Kingdom of God*, that is, a Body compos'd of Fleſh and Blood: *Corruption*, in the latter Part of the Verſe, anſwers exactly to *Fleſh and Blood* in the former Part; and *Incorruption* in the latter Part, to the *Kingdom of God* in the former Part. They mingle Heaven and Earth together who at this Rate confound Corruptible and Incorruptible. *Incorruptible Blood* ſeems to me to be what Logicians call a *Contradiction in adjecto*: For the Stamina of the Blood are of a very diſſolvable Texture and Mixture; and when they are diſſolv'd, Corruption or Putrefaction follow: And the ſame Thing may be ſaid of Fleſh, which is nothing but Blood and ſimilar Juices coagulated. But we ſhall ſay more of this Matter anon, when we treat of the Blood and the glorious Body of Chriſt.

THESE Things, in the mean while, being thus diſcuſs'd, it appears to me to be ſufficiently evident, that the Saying of the Apoſtle's, *that Fleſh and Blood are incapable of poſſeſſing the Kingdom of Heaven*, ought to be underſtood as it is pronounced, lite-

rally and univerſally; and that conſequently our celeſtial and incorruptible Bodies will be void of Fleſh and Blood, and likewiſe of all Organs and all Parts that are compos'd of Fleſh and Blood: But if not only Blood is wanting, but the whole Frame and Structure of Fleſh, nothing will remain but a ſapleſs Skeleton, depriv'd of all the Ornament, the Beauty, and the Majeſty of a human organick Body.

HITHERTO we have prov'd, from the ſacred Writings, that the Bodies of Saints in Heaven are not organical, with regard to their ſeveral Parts; now let us conſult other Characteriſtical Marks that regard and comprehend the whole Body: As when our celeſtial Body is ſaid by the Apoſtle to be ἀχειροποίητον· and when, in regard to that Body, we are ſaid to be ἰσάγγελοι. As to the firſt, the Apoſtle, in that Paſſage to the *Corinthians*, forms a Compariſon, and, as it were, an Antitheſis, between the Body which we have at preſent, and that which we ſhall have hereafter in the Heavens. The Queſtion is, therefore, what is his Meaning? or how that Word ἀχειροποίητον is to be interpreted? If you render it verbatim, *not made with Hands*, from that Mark there will be no Antitheſis between the Body which we are to have, and that which we have at preſent; for this latter is by no means made with Hands, nor by any human Art, but has its Source from liquid Seed;

2 Cor. v. 1. Mar. xiv. 58. Heb. ix. 11.

and

and from a minute Drop grows to a greater Mass, and to an admirable Frame, by a Force internal, and as it were divine, without the Assistance of any Hand, or the Co-operation of any Art of Man. Secondly, if you render ἀχειροποίητον *not artificial*, which seems to have a more extensive Signification, neither by this Means will you preserve the Antithesis or the Distinction from our present Body, which is equally, with the other, inartificial, it being natural both in its Rise and Increase: But yet the Body which we have at present, in another Regard, has the Appearance of an artificial Body, or of a Body mechanically fram'd, that is, as far as it is compos'd of numerous Parts of various Matter, aptly and articulately join'd together, and, as it were, conglutinated. This Way you constitute a mechanical or organical Fabrick, which may be said to be χειροποίητον, *made with Hands*; and according to this Analogy, ἀχειροποίητον and *inorganical*, have one and the same Meaning; by which Interpretation the Antithesis is preserved between the two Kinds of Bodies, that which we have at present, and the celestial; and we conclude, that the Bodies of the Blessed in Heaven are Bodies inorganical.

But tho' in this Passage of the Apostle the foresaid Antithesis is not both Ways express'd, yet in another Place both Parts of the

the Oppoſition or the Compariſon are expreſs'd: As in the Saying of Chriſt in St. *Mark*, Chap. xiv. 58. ναὸς χειροποίητος, *the Temple made with Hands*, is oppos'd to τῷ ἀχειροποιήτῳ, to *the Temple not made with Hands*; and Chriſt by both means his own Body, and calls that which he had when he was here upon Earth, χειροποίητον, *made with Hands*, and the other ἀχειροποίητον, *not made with Hands;* in which Compariſon the foreſaid Antitheſis can hardly be explain'd any other Way than we have explain'd it above. And the Apoſtle, in his Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, Chap. ix. confirms this Explication, where he dwells upon this Similitude of the Tabernacle, to which he tacitly here alludes. And as Chriſt names the Temple, the Apoſtle calls the Tabernacle, or the Sanctuary, χειροποίητον, (Ver. 24.) to which our terreſtrial Body anſwers. Then he calls the celeſtial Body of Chriſt ὐ χειροποίητον, (Ver. 11.) and adds, by way of Expoſition, τουτέστιν, ὐ ταύτης τῆς κτίσεως, that is to ſay, *not of this Building*, or this Structure, but of a different Form from this terreſtrial and organick Body. But concerning this Word, and this Character, we have ſufficiently ſpoke.

The only remaining Characteriſtical Mark is taken from the Equality upon which the Bleſſed in Heaven ſhall be with the Angels. Chriſt ſays to the *Sadducees*, *that*

that * *the Sons of the Reſurrection ſhall be* ἰσαγγέλους, *like to the Angels*; which, at firſt View, ſeems only to regard Marriages and Copulations, yet not to the Excluſion of other Things: So far from it, that Chriſt ſeems rather to have taken that Occaſion to deliver a more general Sentence; by which the Equality of the Sons of the Reſurrection with the Angels, both may and ought to be further extended: And it is actually further extended by St. *Luke*, who after this Manner delivers this Saying of Chriſt: *But they which ſhall be accounted worthy* Luke xx. *to obtain that World, and the Reſurrection* 35, 36. *from the Dead, neither marry, nor are given in Marriage; neither can they die any more, for they are equal unto the Angels,* οὔτε γὰρ ἀποθανεῖν ἔτι δύνανται, ἰσάγγελοι γάρ εἰσι. From theſe Words it appears to me to be evident, firſt, that the Angels have Bodies; then, that we ſhall have ſuch Bodies as the Angels have, that is, inorganical Bodies.

* The Sons of the Reſurrection are the Sons of God, ſays Chriſt, *Luke* xx. 36. בני אלוהים, as the Angels are called. I am not ignorant that the Expreſſion, *Sons of God*, is, in ſome Senſe, to be applied to the Saints in this Life, namely, as they have received the Spirit of Adoption, and the certain Hope of a future Inheritance and Glory: But when 'tis ſpoken of a future Life, it ſeems to denote the Angelical State, according to this Saying of Chriſt here and in other Places, *Mat.* v. 9. *John* i. 12.

dies.* As to the firſt, if that Equality upon which the Bleſſed ſhall be with the Angels, conſiſts only in the ſpiritual Part of each of them, and not in their Bodies; then, our Bodies may be mortal after the Reſurrection, notwithſtanding this Equality. But we are told by Chriſt, that by reaſon of this Equality we can die no more: This Equality, then, muſt regard the Bodies of each, or the corporeal Part of them; for we die, or are mortal, only with reſpect to the Body, whether in this Life or in the Life to come: Beſides, this Immortality, or Equality with the Angels, concerning which Chriſt inſtructs us, are Privileges that accrue to us by and after the Reſurrection; but the Soul has been always immortal, from its Creation; and that Immortality that comes to us by and after the

* This St. *Auſtin* openly aſſerted: *Our Bodies*, ſays he, *after the Reſurrection, ſhall be ſuch as are the Bodies of Angels*, upon *Pſal.* lxxxv. at the Words, *Thou haſt deliver'd my Soul from the lowermoſt Hell.* And upon *Pſal.* cxlv. not far from the Beginning, he calls our heavenly Body *Corpus Angelicum, an Angelical Body. Tertullian*'s Phraſe is, *Caro Angelificata, Angeliz'd Fleſh, de Reſurr. Carn. c.* 26. And again, he calls it, *Demutatio in Subſtantiam Angelicam, a Change into an Angelical Subſtance, Lib.* iii. *contra Marc. c. ult. Lactantius* calls it, *Transformatio in Similitudinem Angelorum, a Transformation into the Likeneſs of Angels, Lib.* vii. *c.* 26. You may conſult at your Leiſure more Places of *Auſtin* that ſpeak the ſame Senſe, as *Epiſt.* 111. *ad Fortunat. Gen. ad Lit.* l. xii. c. 35. And again, l. ii. c. 17. & l. iii. c. 10. of the Bodies of Fallen Angels, and thoſe that are not fallen; and others of the like Nature.

the Reſurrection, is the Immortality of the Body. 'Tis in this Reſpect, that we are equal to the Angels; for, in ſhort, we ſhould be like to the Angels rather before than after the Reſurrection, if the Angels had not Bodies.*

BESIDES, that the Angels are not naked ſpiritual Subſtances, but cloathed with Bodies of their own Kind and Order, ſeems to be demonſtrable to me from this, that they are to conſtitute the Attendance, and the Guard of Chriſt, upon the glorious Day of his Coming. They muſt of Neceſſity, then, be viſible, and cloathed with Bodies, and thoſe of a more noble Order, that they may augment and accompliſh the Majeſty and the Magnificence of that Celeſtial Pomp: Nor will you, I believe, preſume to ſay, that they will have Bodies at that Time, but Bodies which they will borrow, compos'd of Air for that Occaſion only; Bodies to be thrown off, and again diſpers'd when the Pomp of the Spectacle is over: I believe you will hardly ſuffer this to be ſaid, that Chriſt, indeed, will return with innumerable Attendance, but an Attendance of Phantoms only, with a thouſand thouſand tranſitory and fugitive Shadows, and idle empty Viſions, and that ſuch Angels as theſe in Maſquerade ſurround the Throne of God. Beſides,

Mat. xxv. 31. 2 Theſſ. i. 7.

2 Cor. xi. 14.

* Of this Matter ſee *Huet. Orig. l.* 2. *q.* 5. *Sect.* 8, 9. p. 71.

Beſides, when in the ſacred Writings 'tis ſaid, that Satan ſometimes transforms himſelf to an *Angel of Light*, that Metamorphoſis ſuppoſes that an Angel of Light has ſome outward Form, and ſome viſible Species, by which he is known and diſtinguiſhed from the others. But that, be it what it will, he cannot poſſibly have unleſs he has a Body. And as for the evil Angels in general, when they are capable of Pain and Torment by Means of corporeal Fire, and are deſtin'd to ſuffer it, 'tis evident from this, that thoſe degenerate Spirits have their Bodies, whatever thoſe Bodies are. Beſides, on the other Side, 'tis impoſſible there can be any Society, any Commerce, between the good and the Holy Angels, and Saints, and beatified Spirits, unleſs both the one and the other are in ſome Manner viſible and incorporated.

Mat. xxv. 41.

Lastly, Give me leave to ask one Queſtion; Can any one of a ſound Underſtanding, and who has a juſt Eſtimation of the Works of God? can ſuch a one upon conſidering the Thing ſeriouſly, believe ſincerely, and from his Soul, that the Celeſtial and Ætherial Regions, vaſt as they are, and almoſt boundleſs, can be without any viſible intelligent Creature, without any Animal indued with Reaſon, except a few human Souls? What Wilds, what Solitudes, what, next to infinite Deſarts, muſt ſuch a one ſuppoſe that there are in the Nature of Things, which Space the good and the great God, wanted neither

neither Power nor Goodneſs to repleniſh with proper Inhabitants? But if you are of Opinion with us, that Angels have Bodies proper to their Kind and Order, not, indeed, organical Bodies, (for what have Angels to do with Bones, with Joints, with Bowels, with Stomach, and with the Frame and Fabrick of Members?) but lucid and ætherial ones, ſuch as ſeveral of the Fathers were of Opinion that they had, as we have obſerved in another Place; and if you grant that ours will be like to theſe Angelick Bodies *; from this Hypotheſis Honour will redound to God the Creator of the Univerſe, to Heaven its Ornaments, its Majeſty, and Magnificence, and Armies of illuſtrious Inhabitants, to us a Society and eternal Commerce with Angels, and an Equality, and Reſemblance, and Relation to them, both by glorious Endowments of Body and Mind, and by bliſsful Immortality.

Luk. xxiv. 39. Pſal. civ. 4. Archæolog. Philoſ. l. 2. c. 8.

HITHERTO we have anſwered the firſt Part of the Queſtion propounded by the Apoſtle, which regards the Form of our immortal Bodies: Let us now proceed to the ſecond Part, which comprehends the Matter of them, and the Qualities of that Matter. Here,

* But Angels uſually appear cloathed in bright Bodies. See the Places in *Gerard. Tom. 9. p. 659.* about the Middle. And what St. *Jude* ſays of them, that they left τὸ ἴδιον οἰκητήριον *their proper Habitation*, (*ver.* 6.) may denote either their Bodies, or their corporeal Places.

Here, therefore, the Enquiry is to be, what Kind of Body we ſhall enjoy in the Heavens, whether a thick or ſolid one, like that which we carry about as at preſent, or a thin, a light, a refulgent, and a tranſparent one, like Light, or Æther, or Matter a-kin to the Heavens. In examining this Part of the Queſtion, let us proceed in the ſame Method that we uſed in the firſt Part, by thoſe ſacred Characters, or Tokens that are founded in the ſacred Writings. But the Body of the Bleſſed in Heaven, is called by St. *Paul*, celeſtial, ſpiritual, potent, glorious, and conformable to the glorious Body of Chriſt. When 'tis called celeſtial, that denotes the Matter of which 'tis compoſed: For as the Body which we have at preſent conſiſts of terreſtrial Matter; ſo the Body, which is called celeſtial, will conſiſt of celeſtial Matter; or, as the Body of *Adam* was framed of Duſt, or of terreſtrial Clay; ſo, on the contrary, the Bodies of the Sons of God will be formed of celeſtial Matter, or Matter modify'd like it. Ὁ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος ἐκ γῆς χοϊκός· ὁ δεύτερος ἄνθρωπος, κύριος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ. Οἷος ὁ χοϊκός, τοιοῦτοι καὶ οἱ χοϊκοί· καὶ οἷος ὁ ἐπουράνιος, τοιοῦτοι καὶ οἱ ἐπουράνιοι, &c.

1 Cor. xv. 47, 48, &c. 2 Cor. v. 1, 2.

The firſt Man is of the Earth, earthy: The ſecond Man is the Lord from Heaven. As is the earthy, ſo are they alſo who are earthy; and as is the heavenly, ſuch are they alſo that are heavenly: And as we have born the Image of the earthy, we ſhall

shall also bear the Image of the heavenly. With respect to the Body in this Life, we are made like to *Adam*; and with respect to the Body in the other Life, we are made like to Christ. But if our celestial Body is to have the same Qualities or Modifications with the celestial Matter, then this Enquiry only remains, *viz.* what is the Nature of celestial Matter, or after what Manner 'tis modify'd? To which I answer, that 'tis not hard, nor solid, like Glass, or Chrystal, or Ice, as some of the Ancients dreamt, but that 'tis as pure and thin, as the finest Air or Æther: And, consequently, our celestial Bodies will be of the same Nature.

Secondly, our celestial Body is called by the Apostle a *spiritual Body:* Τὸ πνευματικὸν, or πνεῦμα, either signifies something void of all Matter, in which Signification it can be meant of no Body whatever; or it signifies some light and thin Body, like Wind, or Air, or Vapour: in which Sense likewise רוח is us'd by the *Hebrews*, and *Spiritus Spirit*, by the *Latins*, as when the thinner Parts or Particles of our Blood are call'd *Spirits*, whether they are animal or vital. Nor does that Word seem to me to be taken otherwise, when our Celestial Body is call'd a *Spiritual Body*, provided you add this as by Consequence, that the heavenly one will be more vivacious than this mortal Body, and that Man, who will be then made to an enlivening Spirit, εἰς πνεῦ-

μα ζωοποιὸν, will have the Power of preſerving his own Body without Meat, or Drink, or Sleep, or thoſe other Things which the animal Body of *Adam*, σῶμα ψυχικὸν, wanted for its Support.

Ver. 43. THIRDLY, the Celeſtial Body is call'd *potent* and *active*: Σπείρεται ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ, *the Carcaſs is ſown in Weakneſs, and it is raiſed in Power.* The Power of the Body conſiſts in Motion, or in the Power it has to move itſelf and other Things; that which moves itſelf from Place to Place eaſily and ſwiftly, is call'd *active*; and if beſides it has the Force of moving other Bodies, it is on that Account thought the more powerful. But 'tis here to be obſerv'd, that a Body whoſe Parts are quiet, and adhere one to the other, hath no Power of its own of moving itſelf; for Motion among Bodies is produc'd only by Motion, or by a Body mov'd. There is, therefore, a Neceſſity that a Body to be active muſt have its Parts in Motion, as 'tis in Air, Wind, Flame, and Light. Indeed, hard and coherent Bodies, which ſuffer themſelves to be bent, and are call'd *elaſtick*, reſiſt, and recover their former Situation, and that with a great deal of Force: But then the Power of moving does not proceed from the hard Body, but from ſome other ſubtle Matter in Motion inclos'd in the hard Body. Beſides, in Machines which are compos'd partly of Matter which is hard and firm, and partly of that which

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is fluid or volatile, the ſolid may be mov'd by the ſpirituous Parts, and the whole Compound be moved together, or any particular Part of it, as may be ſeen in the Motion of our own Bodies, or of any particular Member of them. But if within the hard Bodies there is no Matter in Motion, nor moveable Matter, neither its own nor foreign, it remains motionleſs in itſelf, and can never be mov'd, unleſs by external Force.

Now if theſe Things are rightly affirm'd and determin'd by us, it follows, that the Body which we are to have in the Heavens may be active and lively, it muſt not conſiſt of a ſluggiſh and ſpiritleſs Matter, as is the Matter of concrete Bodies, or Bodies whoſe Parts are coherent to one another, but of a Subſtance light, and vivid, and volatile; that ſo, in Obedience to the Command of the Mind, it may be eaſily carried to any Part, may paſs through other Bodies, and may, at its own Pleaſure, rarify or condenſe itſelf: In fine, the united Force of the Parts or Particles of which ſuch a Body conſiſts, muſt be exceedingly powerful; and if they are all directed the ſame Way, and to the ſame Object, they will penetrate or throw down every Thing that ſtands in their Way, like a Storm, or the Lightning of Thunder.

And here give me Leave to add, that we ought not to wonder that it ſhould be in the Power of the Soul to guide and di-

rect the Parts of this ſpirituous Body which Way ſoever it pleaſes; when even in this groſs and heavy terreſtrial Body, it ſends forth the Spirits and the thinner Juices every Way into the Nerves and Muſcles, according to the abſolute Pleaſure and Command of its own Will: And when all this ſpiritous Body is nothing but a Frame of congregated Spirits, and of the nobleſt Matter, 'tis but highly reaſonable that we ſhould grant to a glorified Soul a plenary Power over ſuch a Body; a Power of impelling, retaining, or guiding and directing its Parts which Way ſoever it pleaſes.

THE fourth Character follows, by which the Bodies of the Bleſſed are ſtyl'd *glorious*. That Word denotes ſomething more excellent than Beauty only, or than Proportion of Parts, *viz.* a certain Light or Refulgency; nor can Matter or Body, be it ever ſo beautiful, appear *glorious*, unleſs 'tis illuſtrated with Light and Radiancy. Beſides, the Word δόξα, *Glory*, wherever in the ſacred Writings 'tis ſpoke, either of natural Bodies, or of Divine or Angelick Appearances, almoſt always denotes ſomething reſplendent and illuſtrious, as will immediately more fully appear. In the mean while, you ſee that in this very Chapter Mention is made of the Glory of the Stars, which conſiſts in Light, and that in order to explain to us the Glory of our celeſtial Bodies. Laſtly, the Prophet *Daniel* diſcourſing

Ver. 40, 41, 42.

ſing of the Condition of the Righteous after the Reſurrection, to lay it before us, has Recourſe to the ſame Example of Stars, but applies that Example more ſtrongly. *Many of thoſe*, ſays he, *that now ſleep in the Duſt of the Earth will awake; ſome of them to Life eternal, and others to eternal Contempt and Reproach: And the Wiſe ſhall ſhine like the Splendor of the Firmament; and they that inſtruct many to Righteouſneſs, like Stars to Millions of Ages.* Chriſt mark'd the ſame State, the ſame Time, and the ſame Glory, when he ſaid, *Then ſhall the Righteous ſhine forth as the Sun in the Kingdom of their Father.* 'Tis evident that the ſame Glory is deſcrib'd by the Prophet, by Chriſt, and by the Apoſtle, and that that Glory is a Participation of Light and Splendor.

Dan. xii. 2, 3.

Mat. xiii. 43.

BUT the Queſtion may here be ask'd, Whether this Light and this Splendor are inherent in glorified Bodies? or whether they come from abroad, and are only reflected or tranſmitted, as in Gems or poliſh'd Metals, or in other ſolid Bodies? And yet, methinks, this too might be determin'd by the Examples brought from the Sun and the Stars. However, we ſhall examine this more fully in the following Character, by which our celeſtial Body is ſaid to be form'd after the Manner of the glorious Body of Chriſt. In the mean while, this remains fix'd and eſtabliſh'd, that the Bodies of the

Bleſſed in Heaven are, in ſome meaſure, lucid and reſulgent, and by conſequence glorious.

Phil. iii. 2. 1 Cor. xv. 48, 49. 1 Joh. iii. 2.

And now comes the laſt and the moſt illuſtrious Character, *of the Formation of our celeſtial Bodies after the glorious Body of Chriſt.* This Character confirms the former, and beſides diſcovers to us, that the Light which thoſe glorified Bodies emit, is inherent in them, and dwells in them, and proceeds from an internal Principle, as from an exhauſtleſs Fountain: For Chriſt, when he was on the Earth, in his Transfiguration, render'd himſelf all Brightneſs, not by reflecting a borrowed Light, but from himſelf he emitted that Virtue which cauſed him to overflow with Glory, and to be immers'd in a Deluge of Light: Ἔλαμψε τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ὡς ὁ ἥλιος· τὰ δὲ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο λευκὰ, ὡς τὸ φῶς, *His Face did ſhine as the Sun, and his Raiment was white as the Light:* So ſays the Evangeliſt.

Mat. xvii. 2.

Then after his Reſurrection he appeared in ſeveral Shapes, (*Mark* xvi. 2. *Luke* xxiv. 16. *John* xx. 15. & xxi. 5.) render'd himſelf viſible or inviſible according to his Pleaſure, *Luke* xxiv. 31. and twice enter'd the Houſes where his Diſciples were, though the Doors were ſhut, *Joh.* xx. 19. 26. and yet he appeared with Bones and with Fleſh to his doubting Diſciples, that he might convince them of the Truth of his Reſurrection.

rection.* And thus he shewed, by these several Tokens, that it was in his Power to resolve

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* *Clem. Alexand. Strom.* 6. *p.* 649. ἔφαγεν γὰρ οὐ διὰ τὸ σῶμα, *&c.* For he eat not for the sake of his Body, which was sustain'd by divine Virtue, but lest those he appeared to should entertain false Notions of him, as we find afterwards that some actually did, supposing him to have been no more than a Ghost or Apparition.---- *Origen apud Hieron. in Proœm. ad l.* xviii. *in Isa.* He eat after his Resurrection, and drank, and appear'd cloathed, and offer'd himself to be felt, to convince his doubting Disciples of the Reality of his Resurrection; but yet he plainly discovers the Nature of his aërial and spiritual Body, by entering into the Room while the Doors were shut, and by his vanishing out of Sight at the Breaking of Bread.

Damascene likewise says, that he did this οὐ νόμῳ φύσεως, *&c.* not by the Law of his Nature, but by way of Proof of the Truth of his Resurrection, *De Orthod. Fid. l.* 4. *c.* 1.

There are besides quoted, as of the same Opinion, *Theophil.* in *cap.* xxiv. *Luc.* and *Bede in cap.* xx. *Johan. in Gerard. tom.* 9. *p.* 672. *med. Chrysost. Hom.* 87. *Cod. Gr. in Joh.* ἄξιον δὲ διαπορῆσαι, πῶς, κ. τ. λ. But it may be doubted how an incorruptible Body could receive the Impression of the Nails, and be touch'd by mortal Hands: But let not this shock thee; for this was by *Permission* only, (συγκαταβάσεως, by way of *Condescension:*) For a Body so thin and fine as to come in when the Doors were shut, must be void of all gross Substance: But he shewed himself in that Manner for the Proof of the Resurrection. *St. August. de Civ. Dei, l.* xxii. *c.* 19. We must believe, that the Brightness of the Body of Christ at his Resurrection, was rather hid from the Eyes of the Disciples, than really wanting in itself: For the weak Sight of Man could not have been able to have beheld so glorious a Form with that Stedfastness as was necessary for him to be known by. *He would not be touch'd* (John xx. 17.) *because he was not in a tangible State, being then return'd from the Dead, and upon his Ascension to the Father.*

reſolve his Body into the thin and the volatile, and to reduce it at his Pleaſure into a Body ſolid, and of adherent Parts.

LASTLY, When he aſcended into Heaven, with the Swiftneſs of a winged Angel, mounting to his native Seat, what was his Body? what was his Vehicle? It was light and rapid, as the fiery Chariot in which *Elias* was formerly carried, when he aſcended alive into Heaven. In like manner, when Chriſt was ſeen by St. *John* in the Iſle of *Patmos*, *his Eyes were as a Flame of Fire, and his Feet like to fine Braſs, as if they burned in a Furnace;* as the Son of Man was ſeen by the Prophet *Daniel* before. And laſtly, he is at length to return in the ſame glorious, refulgent, flaming Form; otherwiſe he would hardly be viſible both Night and Day aloft in the ſublime Sky, to thoſe who inhabit the Earth: Nay, even the Glory of the Father, with which 'tis ſaid he is to appear, is this very refulgent Form, as the Father, or the *Antient of Days*, is deſcrib'd by the ſame Prophet, with a luminous and flaming Majeſty.

Rev. i. 14, 15.

Dan. x. 5, 6.

Dan. vii. 9, 10.

AND to come to a Concluſion of this Point, I only deſire to add, that the Glory of God, which is call'd by the *Hebrews Shechinah*, and which is the majeſtical Preſence of God, has always the Appearance of Light, or Flame, or of a reſplendent Cloud; as in the Journeying out of *Egypt*, and in the Holy of Holies; and the ſame Thing which

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is called the *Glory of God*, is term'd likewise a Cloud, or a lucid Cloud, *Num.* xii. 5. & xvi. 19, 42. *Matt.* xvii. 5. & 2 *Pet.* i. 17. and in many other Places in both Teſtaments, it appears, that the Glory of God, or his glorious Preſence, is always ſhewn in ſome lucid, flaming, or fiery Matter; but the Body of Chriſt was the moſt excellent Reſiding-Place of this Shechinah, of this divine Glory, and, as it were, the *Sanctum Sanctorum* in which it ſhone out moſt brightly; to which alſo the ſacred Authors are often wont to allude, *Joh.* i. 14. *Heb.* ix. 11. *Rev.* xxi. 3. Theſe Things being thus explain'd, it ſeems to be determin'd, that the glorious Body of Chriſt which he has in the Heavens, is like Flames, like Æther, or like liquid Light, and that conſequently our Celeſtial Body will be of no diſſimilar Matter, ſince 'tis to be conformable to his. And indeed, if we conſult Reaſon and Philoſophy,* any other Kind of Matter can ſcarce ſubſiſt or ſuſtain itſelf in the Heavens, and the Ætherial Regions, where all Things are ſerene and pure, every Thing moſt fine and ſubtle. Laſtly, ſince in the Rank and Order of Bodies, or in material Nature, we know nothing more excellent than Light or Flame, 'tis but juſt that we determine, that the glorious Body of Chriſt, and ours in Proportion,

* See *Origen. cont. Celſ.* l. iii. m. p. 136.

portion, must consist of these till we find something that is more excellent and surpassing.

PERHAPS, it may be here objected, that thus to explain the Glory of the Body of Christ in the Heavens would be foreign neither to Reason nor the sacred Writings, if it were not an Obstacle to the received Doctrine of the Flesh and Blood of Christ that are still remaining in his Celestial Body: To which I answer, that the Fathers either had different Sentiments, or remain'd doubtful concerning this Point of the Flesh and Blood of the Celestial Body of Christ. 'Tis very well known that all the Disciples of *Origen* deny it, and philosophize quite after another Manner. Besides, with the Fathers of the second *Nicene* Synod, among the Definitions and the Heads of the * *Constantinopolitan* Council, (which is called the *Council of the Iconoclastes*, or *the Image-Breakers*,) which, upon hearing them read over again, they approv'd of † this was one:

* Ἐι τις ὐχ ὁμολογεῖ τὸν Κύριον, κ. τ. λ. Whoever does not confess that our Lord Jesus Christ, after his assuming the rational Nature and intellectual Flesh, is set down with God the Father, and that he will so likewise return, with paternal Majesty, to judge the Quick and Dead, not indeed with Flesh, but neither incorporeal; so that he may be seen of those by whom he was pierc'd; and that he remains God without the Grossness of Flesh, let him be accursed.

† Μέχρι τύτων ἐυγνωμονῦσι, κ. τ. λ. So far they think right, and speak agreeably to the Traditions of the Fathers; or

one: *That Christ was set down at the Right Hand of his Father, and that he would at length hither return,* οὐκ ἔτι μὲν σάρκα, ἐκ ἀσώματον δέ; *but that he would not return in the Flesh, and yet not without a Body,* that is, a subtle rarified Body; For it follows, *that he may be seen by those who pierced him, and may remain God without the Grossness of the Flesh.* Can any Thing be more plain than this? For it must be observ'd, that these Words, οὐκ ἔτι μὲν σάρκα, ἐκ ἀσώματον δέ, which chiefly regard the Point of which we are treating, are the very Words of *Gregory Nazianzen,* speaking of the same Matter, *viz.* in his Fortieth Oration, towards the End, he says this concerning Christ; ᾧ ἀναστάντα τριήμερον ἀνελήλυθέναι, &c. *That the third Day he returned to Life, and ascended into Heaven; from whence he will return illustrious and glorious, to judge the Quick and the Dead:* οὐκ ἔτι μὲν σάρκα, οὐκ ἀσώματον δὲ, *viz. no longer incarnated, and yet not wanting a Body, but having a Body more august and more divine, and such a Body as none but the Son of God can have; that he might both be seen by those who pierced him, and might remain a God without any corporeal Mass, or any carnal Grossness.*

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or rather, by asserting these Doctrines as their own, they do themselves Credit and Honour. *L'Abbé Conc. Nic.* 2. *Act.* 6. *tom.* 6. *p.* 541.

In vain the *Popish* Doctors labour to wrest these Words, οὐκ ἔτι σάρκα, to a metaphorical or figurative Sense, *viz.* to signify not the Substance of Flesh, but its Affections and Infirmities; but the Words which follow, as well in the said Councils as in *Gregory Nazianzen*; which in the Councils are, *That he may remain a God without the Grossness of the Flesh;* and in the Father, *that God may remain without any corporeal Mass, without any fleshly Grossness:* These Words, I say, plainly discover, that the Word σάρκα, *Flesh*, is here taken physically, and according to its specifick Nature, as 'tis opposed to a thin and liquid Matter; and 'tis in this Sense, as you may plainly see, that Flesh is denied to be in the Body of Christ, by the Votes and Consents of these two celebrated Councils.

Lastly, I said that some of the Fathers were doubtful as to this Point, which is Epist. 146. universally known by the Answer of St. *Austin* to *Consentius*, who had propos'd this Question to him, *Whether now the Body of Christ has Bones and Blood, and the other Lineaments of Flesh in it.* To which Question, after that St. *Austin* has given a general and partial Answer, he adds, *Let not Faith be wanting, and no Doubt will remain, unless we ought to enquire concerning the Blood of Christ; because when he said, Feel and see, for a Spirit has not Flesh and Bones, he did not add, Blood. Let not us,*

us, therefore, add to our Inquiry what he did not add to his Answer; and, if you please, let the Question have this compendious End, or else, perhaps, some more troublesome Enquirer, taking occasion from this Mention of Blood, may press us further, and ask, if Blood, why not Phlegm, why not yellow and black Choler? of which four Humours the Physicians agree, that the Nature of Flesh is compos'd: But whatever any one adds, let him beware of adding Corruption, that he may preserve the Soundness and Chastity of his Faith.

HERE, you see, St. *Austin* remains cautious and doubtful, and *Consentius* docile, but yet doubtful. Some, indeed, talk more boldly and grosly concerning the glorious Body of Christ. This I deny not; but some Things, at present, being balanced against others, let us proceed, if you please, on our Subject: For whatever has been determin'd, either by Councils or Fathers, it must yield to Reason and Scripture.

SECONDLY then, I say, or rather repeat from what was said before, that *Flesh and Blood cannot*, according to the Apostle, *inherit the Kingdom of God.* These Words, if they are literally taken, and in their proper Signification, there is an End of the present Dispute, by the Assertion of our Lord himself: But that they ought to be received so in this Place, according to the received Laws of Interpreting, if I am not mistaken, 1 Cor. xv. 50.

miſtaken, has been above ſufficiently demonſtrated.

THIRDLY, 'Tis repugnant both to Reaſon and the Nature of Things, that Fleſh and Blood can be incorruptible: As the Body of Chriſt is now, ſo will our Body be hereafter in the Heavens. But you will, perhaps, anſwer, that Fleſh and Blood, indeed, are not incorruptible in their own Nature, but that they may be render'd incorruptible, their ſpecifick Nature being preſerv'd and remaining. This is what I deny; yes, in this Part we diſſent: And leſt Deceit ſhould lie lurking in Generals, let us, if you pleaſe, open the Matter ſuccinctly, that the State of the Queſtion may appear the more manifeſtly. Every Kind of Body has its Proprieties; of which ſome are accidental and mutable, others are eſſential and unchangeable, which being deſtroyed or alter'd, that Portion of Matter will ceaſe to be a Body of the ſame Kind and Nature which it was of before, but paſſes into another Claſs or Order of Bodies. For Example; When the Herbs which we eat are converted into Fleſh and Blood, they are no longer Herbs, though the ſame Matter remains, but Fleſh and Blood, Bodies of quite another Kind and another Nature. On the other Side, when Fleſh and Blood are, in their Turns, converted into Herbs and Graſs, which often happens when the Ground grows fat by the Blood of ſlaughter'd Bodies, thus alter'd, they ceaſe to be

Fleſh

Flesh and Blood. When Christ, in the Marriage of *Cana*, converted Water into Wine, the same Matter remain'd, but differently modified; and by reason of those new Modifications, lost both the Name and the Nature of Water.

TELL me then plainly, and leave the Sophister behind you, what Alteration do you require should be made in the Parts or Particles of Flesh and Blood, that from a corruptible Matter they may become incorruptible, and yet preserve the Nature of Flesh and Blood? Or, if you had rather, answer this Question: What are the Proprieties, what are the Conditions of Flesh and Blood, which you affirm to be essential to both, and from both inseparable? Yes, what are the Proprieties and the Conditions, which being preserved, Flesh and Blood remain? and which being destroyed, Flesh and Blood must either perish with them, or must pass into another Class of Bodies? If you answer, that that is unknown to you, then you confess that you know not whether that can be done, which yet you affirm is done, which seems to be the Part of a rash and a headstrong Man: Yet still let us try if, by some other Expedient, we can bring latent Truth to the Light. Tell me, then, what are the Principles, what are the Stamina of which Blood is compos'd? You know what are the Principles of Blood, which all receive and acknowledge, *viz.* Salt, Sulphur, Spirit, Earth,

Earth, and Water. But 'tis equal to me whether you take these or other, provided they are known, determin'd, and terrestrial. In the mean time, these Things being thus laid down, I ask you, Is it your Opinion that these Parts and these Principles will remain in your Celestial Blood? Do you believe that the Body of Christ in Heaven is compos'd of Salt, Sulphur, Water, and Earth? Unless your Celestial Blood retains these Stamina, these fundamental Principles, it will be no longer Blood, unless equivocally and catechrestically, because it will not have the Substance of Blood; and if it retain these, it will not be a Body celestial and incorruptible.

For here we are to observe, that this Matter, this Substance of the Blood being thus laid down, the Form of it is to be compos'd of the due Mixture of these Parts and Principles: But now imagine what Mixture or Texture you please, it will be dissolvable; nay, it will be actually dissolv'd and dissipated by the celestial Matter surrounding it, and intermix'd with it, like Wood or Straw in our terrestrial Fire. 'Tis true, indeed, by means of Power divine, it may be preserv'd incorrupted, as may the Blood that we now have, or as the young Men formerly were in the *Babylonian* Furnace; but still it will be in its own Nature corruptible, provided 'tis compos'd of the same Elements, however mix'd, of which our Blood

Blood is conſtituted: And what we have ſaid of *Blood* will hold good in proportion of *Fleſh* likewiſe; ſo that there will be no Occaſion for going over the Argument again, to ſhew the ſame of this latter. It will be ſufficient to obſerve, that if Softneſs and Humidity remain, Corruptibility will likewiſe remain; but if it becomes hard and dry, it will then take the Nature of a Stone, or of Glaſs; or, at leaſt, it will reſemble Mummy dried and hardened in the burning Sands of *Arabia* or *Egypt*. But it will be needleſs to dwell any longer on Things which are as repugnant to Reaſon, as they are to Faith.

In the mean time, the Summary and Concluſion of what has been ſaid upon this Subject is this, That the glorious Body of Chriſt in the Heavens does not conſiſt of any jointed Frame of Bones, of Fleſh, and of Blood, or of any of the Humours or Entrails of this preſent terreſtrial Body; but that 'tis of a more excellent Matter, of a higher Nature, and Purity, and Perfection: That I may ſay all in a Word, it conſiſts of Matter intirely Celeſtial, with reſpect both to its Subſtance and Accidents. Laſtly, the external and viſible Glory of this Celeſtial Body will conſiſt properly in this, That it will be refulgent, and by its own Rays illuſtrious; I ſay, *by its own* Rays, and not by any borrowed Light, either tranſmitted or reflected, but living and innate, like a Source

of living Water. And of this refulgent Glory Chriſt gave a Specimen from Heaven, when he ſpoke to *Saul*, and did, by the Flaſhing of his Rays, as it were by Lightning, throw him proſtrate on the Ground, blinded, and amaz'd, and confounded, *Acts* ix. 3. περιήστραψεν αὐτὸν, ſays the Apoſtle, φῶς ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. Καὶ πεσὼν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, &c. The glorious Body of Chriſt pour'd out and diffus'd its Light, a Light more bright and more powerful than the Meridian Rays of the Sun. Compare *Acts* ix. 17, 27. with *Acts* xxii. 6. and xxvi. 13.

This ſeems to me to be the proper Habit and State of the glorious Body of Chriſt; yet notwithſtanding all this, we are willing to allow that it is, and always was in the Power of Chriſt to change his whole Body, or any Part of his Body, into whatever Form or whatever Temperament he pleas'd. When he was here upon Earth he walk'd upon the Sea, and it gave no way to his light Body. He was forty Days without Meat and without Drink, and had Power to render his Body impaſſive. He render'd it, likewiſe, thin, thick, heavy, light, dark, lucid, viſible, or inviſible, according to his Sovereign Pleaſure: Much more has he now Power over his own Body in the Heavens, and can convert the Subſtance of it, that is obedient to his Commands, into Blood or any other Juice, into Fleſh or any other Concretion, according to his divine Will; and therefore

fore the Diſpute is not concerning that Point, nor concerning the Power of Chriſt, either over the external Elements, or over his own Body, but concerning his proper State, and his Form, that is ſaid to be glorious and celeſtial: That, I ſay, is neither bony, nor fleſhy, nor ſanguinary, but a Maſs of liquid Light, and of Air that glitters with its Radiency, like the brighteſt Stars of Heaven; as is moſt agreeable to his divine Dignity, and thoſe ætherial Regions where he chiefly reſides.

THUS have I treated with all the Brevity, and all the Perſpicuity, that I poſſibly could, of the Matter and Form of the Body of Chriſt in Heaven, and alſo of our own Bodies, which are to be made like unto his, by his divine Power and Influence. We have found upon Examination, that each of theſe is inorganical and inconcrete: And tho' this Examination has been founded upon Characters and Tokens drawn from the ſacred Writings, and adjuſted to the Nature of Things, yet are we ſo accuſtomed to groſs Bodies, conſtituted of Fleſh and Bones, and a Frame of ſolid Members, that we are ſcarce able to conceive any other Kind of animated Bodies, or to give our Aſſent to any Proofs whatever of them. But whoever is either moderately converſant in the Writings of the ancient Philoſophers, or has read what the Chriſtian Fathers philoſophically write concerning Angels and Demons, will without Difficul-

ty get free from that Prejudice. Therefore I will presume to advise them, that they would first diligently enquire, whether Angels have Bodies? and if they have, what sort of Bodies theirs are? As for the First, you have the Suffrage and Consent of the ancient Fathers, and of the *Grecians* especially, to that Opinion, that the Angels have Bodies, as we have shewn in another Place. Then what the Bodies of Angels are, you will learn from the same *Grecian* Fathers; and in several Places of St. *Austin*, among the *Latins*, as in the *Treatise de Gen. ad Lit.* in his Epistles, in the *Treatise de Civitate Dei*, and in several other Places. You will find that they all teach us, that those Bodies are thin as the Air, or the pure Æther; but that the good Angels have the purer, and the grosser the evil ones. This Doctrine of the Fathers being received, and their, as it were, secondary Authority, (for the primary one is that of the sacred Scripture, and of Reason that bears Witness to it,) that vulgar Prejudice will disappear and vanish, that there is one only Kind of animated Bodies, *viz.* the organical, and that which consists of concrete Matter, of Flesh, and of nervous Members, like our terrestrial Bodies. But there is another Genus of Bodies, of a celestial Kind and Order, such as the Bodies of Angels are, or such as ours will be, when we shall be like to the Angels. The gross, heavy, sluggish Bodies, such as we

we have at preſent, are in the loweſt Claſs of Bodies, which immortal Minds, and rational Natures inhabit. And thoſe which conſiſt of a light, ſubtle, and moveable Matter, are a much nobler ſort of animated Bodies, and are readier for Motion or for Diſpatch in all the Actions, either of the Mind or the Body. Nay, even in this terreſtrial Body, the thin, the ſubtle, and the fluid Part, which we call Spirits, is the proper Vehicle of the Soul, as the moſt nearly ally'd to it. Theſe it commands, and theſe are the Inſtruments which it makes uſe of to move the Members of the Body: And the Affections and Operations of the Mind, depend upon the Subtilty, or the Groſſneſs, the Plenty or the Want, the regular or irregular Motion of the Spirits, and are accordingly more or leſs powerful and vigorous. This Syſtem then and Collection of Spirits, and of thin and ſpiritous Matter, is the Seat of the Soul, and its primary and intimate Body; and this Covering of Skin and Fleſh which we wear, is only uſed as a Shell or a Casket for the ſurer Preſervation of it. Away then with that vulgar ridiculous Dotage, repugnant both to Philoſophy, and to Theology, *viz.* that without the Trunk of a Body, and the Entrails which belong to it, no Body can be a fit Habitation for Souls, or for any ſpiritual Nature. *A Spirit*, ſays Chriſt, *has not Fleſh and Bones.* He does not ſay that a Spirit is ἀσώματον, Luk. xxiv. 39.

ἀσώματον, *without a Body*, but that it has not a Body of Fleſh and Bones. As, above, it was ſaid of Chriſt himſelf by the Fathers, ἐκ ἔτι σάρκα, ἐκ ἀσώματον δέ, *that he was in the Heavens without Fleſh, but not without a Body.* Certainly, if a Spirit had been without any kind of Body, it had been more ready for Chriſt to have ſaid, and had been as much to the Purpoſe, *A Spirit has not a Body, as you ſee that I have.* Yet this he did not ſay, but *a Spirit has not Fleſh and Bones*, that is, a Spirit has not a groſs, viſible, and palpable Body, ſuch as mine appears to be, both to your Sight and Touch.*

HITHERTO

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* Laſtly, the Philoſophers in defining that Body, which they ſay good Men will have in a future State, or in Heaven, make uſe of the very ſame Words, and Epithets, and Phraſes, as the Apoſtle does in deſcribing our future celeſtial Body. *Paul* calls this Body we are to have, a celeſtial or eternal one in the Heavens: They likewiſe term it ἐράνιον and ἀιθέριον; and in like Manner oppoſe it to a terreſtrial one. St. *Paul* calls it immortal and incorruptible; the Philoſophers uſe Words of the ſame Signification, ἀθάνατον, ἄφθαρτον, ἄμβροτον, ἀΐδιον. The Apoſtle compares it to the Stars; they call it ἀστεροειδές. He ſtiles it a lucid and glorious Body; they αὐγοειδός. In ſhort, both deſcribe it by the ſame common Epithet of σῶμα πνευματικὸν, *a ſpiritual Body*. 'Tis not to be queſtioned but that the ſame Kind of Bodies is meant on both Sides. But 'tis well known, that the Philoſophers did not deſign a groſs Body, mix'd up with Blood, much leſs any kind of hard organical Machine; but a *Vehicle*, as they call it, compoſed of a rarefy'd active ſort of Matter; ſo that this Body may be always of a like Nature with the Place, where the Souls are to reſide; an Opinion which they are often repeating.

HITHERTO we have explain'd, according to the utmoſt of our Power, the Points which are of greateſt Moment in the Doctrine of the Reſurrection. There are others remaining, and though not of the ſame Weight, yet worthy of our Conſideration and our Enquiry. But the Remainder of the Things belonging to this Subject ſhall be comprehended in the following Chapter, becauſe this is already grown too large.

CHAP. VIII.

What ſort of Body we are to have at the Reſurrection? the ſame that we have at preſent, or a different one?

HAVING now finiſhed the firſt Part of the Diſcourſe, which we begun concerning the Reſurrection, which contains the Certainty and Cauſes of the Thing itſelf, and the Matter and Form of our new Bodies; let us proceed to ſatisfy the other Queſtions, which may be asked upon the ſame Subject, though they are of a much inferior Conſequence. The firſt of which, is, Whether we ſhall ariſe with the ſame Body, which we left off at our Death? The ſame numerical Body is here underſtood, a Body conſiſting of the ſame Matter, and the very ſame Particles. This is a very celebrated

Queſtion, but it appears to me to be rather curious than neceſſary. For how can it be your Intereſt or mine, whether we are to have the ſame Particles, or others of the ſame Virtue and Dignity? How can it concern us what becomes of our Leavings, and Carkaſſes, provided we live in the Light of Heaven, and in the *Society of Angels? Yet becauſe there are at this Time no ſmall Debates concerning this very Matter, let us, if you pleaſe, look into the State of the Cauſe, and then to what Part of it the ſacred Scriptures and free Reaſon incline.

In the firſt Place, I believe, both Sides are agreed, that the Bodies of thoſe which at the Coming of our Lord ſhall be found among the Living, will be immediately changed, the ſame Particles being retained, or, at leaſt, a great Part of them; that is to ſay, as ſoon as this mortal Frame of Members is diſſolved, the ſame Matter, (the Filth of it excepted,) will be converted into another Form, and into other Qualities, that is, into the ſame Form, and the ſame Qualities, which immortal and incorruptible Bodies have.

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* But as we make no Account of the Shavings of the Beard or Head, ſo that divine Mind, when it makes its Exit from the Body, is as little concerned what becomes of its Caſe, whether the Fire conſumes it, wild Beaſts devour it, or the Earth covers it, regards it no more than a new born Infant does the Afterbirth. *Senec. Epiſt.* 92.

have. This is called by the Apoſtle, *not to be diveſted of a Body, but to be cloathed upon with one, that Mortality may be ſwallow'd up of Life:* Or, *that this Corruptible may put on Incorruption;* which Tranſition can never be made without ſome melting and diſſolving of the Parts; as terreſtrial Bodies are purify'd or converted to Flame. Beſides, if I am not miſtaken, both Sides are agreed, that the Body of Chriſt, when he roſe from the dead, conſiſted of the ſame Particles which it did before; and that when he aſcended into Heaven he retained the ſame, and carried them to a celeſtial Purity, by Virtue of his enlivening Spirit. 2 Cor. v. 4.

THESE Things then being granted on both Sides, the only Debate and Doubt that remains, is, concerning ordinary Carkaſſes, or concerning the Bodies of the Dead, which have rotted, have been diſſolved and diſſipated, their Parts or Particles having been changed a thouſand different Ways, and diſperſed in a thouſand different Places: The Queſtion then is, whether theſe Particles ſhall every one of them be recollected into ſeparate little Heaps, according to the Number of Bodies that have died from the Beginning to the End of the World? Then, whether every little Heap ſhall be worked up again into Limbs and Lineaments, and the entire Form and Shape of the former Body?

THERE

THERE are, indeed, ſeveral Paſſages of the ſacred Scriptures, which appear to me, at the firſt Appearance, to favour this Unity, or, as it is wont to be called, this Identity of Bodies, the preſent and the future. Chriſt himſelf ſpeaking concerning the Reſurrection, *The Hour is coming*, ſays he, *in the which all that are in their Graves ſhall hear his Voice*, i. e. *the Voice of the Son of God, and ſhall come forth*, &c. Here Chriſt appears to hint, that at the Reſurrection, the very ſame Carkaſſes that lie in their Graves ſhall hear his Voice, and come forth, as *Lazarus*, after he was brought to Life again, came forth from his Sepulchre. And conſonant to this is what St. *John* ſays in the *Revelations*, *And the Sea gave up the Dead that were in it*, at the univerſal Reſurrection. Each of the Elements, the Earth and the Water, ſhall reſtore the Carkaſſes which they have ſwallowed, that being once again animated, they may be ſet before the Judgment Seat. In like Manner, the Viſion of the ſame Prophet, or the Scene of the Reſurrection, teſtifies the ſame Thing; *I ſaw the Dead*, ſays he, *Small and Great ſtand before God.* If little ones remain little ones after the Reſurrection, and the Prophet ſaw whole Troops of Infants, of Boys, of Youths, and of Perſons at the Age of Maturity, ſtand before the Judgment Seat, that appears to diſcover, that every one will have the ſame Body

John v. 28, 29.

Chap. xx. 13.

Ver. 12. & Chap. xi. 18.

Body with which he died, whether it was little, or whether it was great.

I PASS by that Paſſage of *Job*, becauſe the *Hebrews*, and the beſt Interpreters of other Nations, all expound that by a temporal Redemption and Reſtoration. Nor, indeed, is it probable, that an *Arabian*, a native of a foreign Land, and before the Promulgation of the Law, and the Age in which *Moſes* lived, ſhould have a deeper Inſight into the Myſtery of the Reſurrection, than all the *Hebrews*, or the *Hebrew* Prophets, who lived many Ages after him. I paſs by other Things, that are figuratively ſhadowed in the old Teſtament, and by the Prophets, which are wont to be brought to prove this Point. That which comes nearer to ſuch a Proof is this, That St. *Paul* in more than one Paſſage affirms, that theſe mortal Bodies will riſe up again, or be changed into glorious Bodies; and though in this Chapter to the *Corinthians*, he ſeems at firſt to aſſert, that another Kind of Body will ariſe different from that which fell, or was ſown; yet in what follows, underſtood according to the Letter, and the moſt obvious Senſe, he ſeems to retain the very ſame Body indued with new Qualities.

Chap. xix. 25, 26.

Rom. viii. 11. Phil. iii. 21. 1 Cor. xv. 37, 38.

To theſe Quotations brought from ſacred Scripture, ſome Perſons are pleaſed to add Reaſons and Arguments, by which they induſtriouſly pretend to prove, that 'tis but juſt and equitable that the ſame numerical Body

Body ſhould ariſe, and be carried up into Heaven; that, as it performed its Part in the bearing Afflictions, or the Performance of Duties in this Life, ſo it ſhould be made Partaker of the Rewards and Glories of another. That they cannot think it juſt, that one ſhould ſtrive for the Victory, and that another ſhould be crown'd, or that one ſhould have all that is due to another, whether it be Good or Evil. And upon this Rock ſtruck ſeveral of the ancient Fathers.

But this Way of arguing, as we hinted before, is altogether unphiloſophical, ſupported by none, or by a falſe Foundation, becauſe no Matter whatever is capable either of Rewards or of Puniſhments, either of Grief or of Joy, but muſt be always inſenſible, either in the preſent or in a future Body. The Mind alone not only underſtands and wills, but alone is ſenſible, either of Grief or Pleaſure, and has alone either good or evil Affections. 'Tis, therefore, rightly affirmed of the Soul alone, that it does either Good or Evil, that it either enjoys or ſuffers, either offends or pleaſes God, and is either rewarded or puniſhed: In fine, the Soul alone can be either happy or miſerable. Beſides, our Bodies have no Stability, nor are they always the ſame, but are in a perpetual Flux, and Motion, and Mutation. We have had more or fewer Bodies in this Life, according to the Courſe of our Years; and, perhaps, in one we have behaved ourſelves

ſelves well, and in another ill: How then ſhall impartial Juſtice be render'd to each of them? But we have touched upon this Matter before; and 'tis hardly worth our While to dwell any longer upon refuting ſo wretched an Argument.

IN the mean while, what ſhall we conclude from thoſe Paſſages which we quoted above, from the ſacred Scripture, which ſeem to affirm to us, that our mortal and immortal Bodies, as to their Subſtance, are one and the ſame. Why, we muſt conclude, that we muſt adhere to the Letter, provided we find other Things conſenting to it; and we find no Obſtacle on the Part of the Thing concerning which we treat. We are therefore firſt to enquire what that Opinion contains, or comprehends in it, of the Identity of both the Bodies, terreſtrial and celeſtial? What Conveniencies or Inconveniencies, or what Repugnancy attend that Opinion? We obſerved a little above, that our Body in this preſent Life is manifold, that 'tis diſſipated and repaired daily; and that after a few Years it becomes entirely new. And, therefore, in the whole Courſe of one's Life, one has, perhaps, ſix or ſeven different Bodies, and even more if we live a great many Years.

THIS brings a-freſh to my Mind the Queſtion which the *Sadducees* formerly propoſed ſo abſurdly, of the Woman that had ſeven Husbands, *viz.* which of them ſhe ſhould have Mat. xxii.

have at the Reſurrection? Let the Soul, for the preſent, be that Woman, which had ſeven Bodies, as it were, ſo many Husbands: The Queſtion is, which of the Seven it ſhall have upon the Reſurrection, for it had them all? Perhaps you will ſay, that of the Seven which it had laſt. But it may very well be that the Soul did more Good or more Evil in ſome other Body than in the laſt, and therefore it ought rather to have that other Body the Companion of its Miſery, or its Glory. Beſides, how ill would the decrepit Body of an old Man, or the little helpleſs one of an Infant, become the Court of Heaven, and the Aſſemblies of Angels? And either in the one or the other of theſe Bodies, the greater Part of humanKind expires. But, if you would carry that infantine diminutive Body up to the Flower of Life, or bring back the Body worn out with Age to the ſame Youth with the other, there would be Occaſion for ſo many, and ſo great Additions on one Side, and ſo many Amendments on the other, that like the Veſſel *Argus*, that was formerly an hundred Times repaired, it would be the ſame Body only in its Name. For my own Part, I had rather have a new Structure from Heaven, than a terreſtrial Cottage, however augmented, or however repaired.

In the ſecond Place, we are to obſerve, that when the ſame numerical Body is requir'd in the Reſurrection, 'tis likewiſe requir'd that it ſhould conſiſt of Parts of the

ſame

ſame Kind, of the ſame Bowels, Humours, and Members, of which it conſiſted in this mortal Life: But how this can poſſibly be I cannot ſee, when 'tis manifeſt from the ſacred Scripture, that ſome of the Entrails and Members will be aboliſh'd; as the Belly, and all thoſe Parts that regard it, or that are under it.* Beſides, that our Celeſtial Body is not conſtituted of Fleſh and Blood, nor of any organical Structure, we have above, if I am not miſtaken, very clearly ſhewn; ſo that it cannot be the ſame as to Form, tho' it ſhould be the ſame as to Matter. I am amaz'd to find that ſome Perſons are arriv'd at that Height of Audaciouſneſs, or of Temerity, that they are for having all the Parts riſe again, and compoſe the celeſtial Body, which now compoſe the terreſtrial; as the Palate, the Throat, the Bowels, and all thoſe Parts which regard the Kitchin; as likewiſe thoſe which diſtinguiſh the Sexes, or which were form'd for the Procreation of Children; as likewiſe the Parts which are accounted excrementitious, as the Teeth, the Nails, the Hair, and the Beard: All theſe Parts they will have to riſe again, and conſtitute our celeſtial Body. Theſe Things formerly gave occaſion for the *Satirical* Reflections of ſeveral, which St. *Jerom*

* That there will be no Difference of Sex, was the Opinion of *Athan. Serm.* 3. *contra Arian. Hilar. Can.* 23. *in Matt. Baſil. in Pſal.* cxiv. *Theod. quæſt.* 37. *in Gen. Macar. Hom.* 34.

Jerom mentions: For if, said they, we are to have our Hair and our Beards in Heaven, then *there will be occasion for Tonsors there:* If Infants are to be there, *there will be occasion for Nurses:* If the Blood is to be retain'd, says St. *Austin*, it will be ask'd, *why not likewise the Phlegm, why not the yellow and black Choler?* Let them give Answer to these Questions who boldly pronounce that these Things are thus. In my Opinion these, and Things of the like Nature, rather become an Animal than an Angelical Life, such as the Saints will live in Heaven; *who are then the Sons of God, since they are the Sons of the Resurrection.*

Gen. vi. Job. i. 1. & xxxviii. 7. Pſ. lxxxix. 7.

Nor does the common Answer to this appear to have any Validity, *viz.* that these Entrails, these Parts will, indeed, be Parts of the celestial Body; but that they will be wholly inactive, nor discharge their several Functions in it, as they do in our present Bodies. But I desire you to tell me why they are there, if they have nothing to do there? To what Purpose are they restor'd, if they are to lie intirely useless? God never is redundant in Superfluities; and if in this imperfect and mortal Body which we now carry about us, we have no Parts, no, not the very least, which are unuseful and superfluous, can you affirm, that in a much more perfect and excellent Body the whole Frame of it, or at least the greatest Part of it, should be superabundant? But you retort upon

upon this, That all these Parts are requisite to make human Nature intire; and that for this Reason, they will not be wanting in Heaven. But what? can unuseful Parts be requisite to make human Nature intire, or, indeed, any Nature? Those Parts, indeed, are requisite to make a terrestrial and mortal Body intire; but in the celestial and immortal one there is no occasion for them: But human Nature is equally capable of both these Bodies. Nor will it be of any Use to you to say that they are superadded for the sake of Ornament: For what can be the Beauty, what can be the Comelineſs of those Parts, which the Apostle himself pronounces to be uncomely? or of those Parts which are hid in the Trunk of the Body, or those Parts which are requisite for the taking in Nourishment, or for the throwing out Excrements?* 1 Cor. xii. 23.

HITHERTO we have inquir'd which of those Bodies which we wore in this Life, or

* Some of the Ancients, indeed, especially the *Epicureans*, gave their Gods the human Form; whom *Cicero* refutes, in that they could have no Use for the external Parts, nor could there be any Beauty in the internal. But there is nothing superfluous in Nature: *Nor do I approve of the outward Parts more than of the inward; the Heart, the Lungs, the Liver, and the like, where lies their Beauty when separated from their respective Uses? De Nat. Deor. l.* i. *Sect.* 93. *p.* 134. As if nothing could be happy or immortal, unless it went upon *two Legs*; as says the same Philosopher in another Place.

or what Parts of that Body they would have riſe again, that it may be exactly to their Mind, the ſame identick Body. We are laſtly to inquire what Ways and Means they can find out for the recollecting the Parts or Particles of the Body which are wanting. The Aſhes and the Particles of Carcaſſes diſſolv'd are ſundry Ways, both by Land and by Sea, diſpers'd; and not only through this Globe, but being carried by the Heat of the Sun into the aërial Regions, they are ſcatter'd through a thouſand Parts of the Univerſe. Beſides, they are not only ſow'd looſely through all the Elements, but they are ingrafted into the Bodies of Animals, of Trees, of Foſſils, and of ſeveral other Bodies; from which they cannot eaſily be brought back again. Laſtly, in theſe Tranſmigrations from ſome Bodies to others, they are endued with new Forms and new Figures; nor do they retain the ſame Nature and the ſame Qualities. Theſe Things being thus laid down and granted, the Queſtion is, by what Means, or by what powerful Cauſes, the Parts and Particles of every ſingular Body, however diſtant, and wherever hid, can poſſibly be collected?

In vain will you have a Recourſe to Nature: She has no Powers that are equal to ſuch, and ſo vaſt an Effect; nor can you appeal to divine Omnipotence, without a juſt, a worthy, and a neceſſary Cauſe. But ſince 'tis plainly of no Significance, that we ſhould

ſhould have the ſame Parts, either numerical or ſpecifical, in our immortal Body, which we had in our mortal one, ſhall we dare to imploy the ſupreme Power of the Deity upon a Matter uſeleſs and inſignificant? Among Men 'tis ſaid, *that the Labour about Trifles is Folly;* but ſuch a Thing, with regard to God, is neither to be utter'd nor heard. To collect the Duſt and the Aſhes of all human Carcaſſes from the Origin of the World to the End of it, then to reduce every one of them to its own Maſs and its own Heap, and to work up and faſhion that Heap a-new into its old Shape, and Size, and Bigneſs, would be the moſt aſtoniſhing of all Miracles. But of ſuch a Miracle, ſo manifold, and ſo uſeleſs, we have hitherto had no Example.

THUS much concerning the Inſignificance and the Impertinence of the Thing; but 'tis doubted by many whether 'tis in the Number of thoſe that are barely poſſible, ſince the ſame Part of Matter cannot be at the ſame Time in different Places or in different Bodies. Some Nations, ſay they, are *Anthropophagi*; they ſome of them feed upon others; and 'tis barely impoſſible that the ſame numerical Fleſh can at the ſame Time be reſtor'd to ſeveral Bodies. But why do they mention ſome Nations? we are all of us ἀλληλοφάγοι; we all of us feed upon the Remains of each other; not indeed immediately, but after they have had ſome Tranſ-

mutations into Herbs and Animals: In thoſe Herbs and Animals we eat our Anceſtors, or at leaſt ſome minute Parts of them. If the Aſhes of every one, from the Beginning of the World, had been ſeparately preſerv'd in their own Urns or Coffins, or rather, if all Carcaſſes had been converted into Mummy, and had ſo remain'd, for the greater Part, intire, there would be ſome Hope of recovering ſeveral Parts of the ſame Body, without a Mixture of others. But ſince Carcaſſes, for the moſt part, are diſſolv'd and diſſipated, and their Parts are mingled with the vaſt Body of the Univerſe are exhal'd into Air, and fall down again in Dew and in Rain, and are imbib'd by the Roots of Plants, and ſpring up again in Graſs, in Corn, and in Fruit; and from thence return in a Circle to human Bodies again; it may very well happen, that by taking this Compaſs, the ſame Part of Matter may have undergone ſeveral μετενσωματώσεις, may have inhabited more Bodies than the Soul of *Pythagoras*; but that it ſhould be reſtor'd to every one of theſe Bodies upon the Reſurrection is abſolutely impoſſible. If 'tis reſtor'd to the firſt Poſſeſſor, which ſeems to be but juſt, it will be miſſing in the others; or if 'tis reſtor'd to the laſt, it will be wanting to the firſt. Let us admit, if you pleaſe, for the ſake of Example, that the firſt Poſterity of *Adam*, or the Men of the firſt Ages, ſhould firſt reclaim their Bodies, and then,

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in Order, the People of every Age ſhould require theirs: Scarce * half Bodies will be remaining for the late Poſterity of *Adam*, or the laſt Inhabitants of the Earth, all thoſe Parts and Particles being torn from them which belong'd to the Bodies of their Anceſtors.

LASTLY, there is ſtill another Knot in this Cauſe, which is not eaſily ſolv'd: For ſince the Parts of Matter are daily paſſing from one Kind to another, their Figure and Magnitude being chang'd, and with them their other Qualities; Fleſh does not remain Fleſh, nor does Blood remain Blood, from the Beginning to the End of the World, or from the Death of every one unto his Reſurrection. To explain the Thing more clearly: Every Species or Order of Bodies conſiſts of Particles which are proper to it, and which are diſtinguiſh'd from others by their Figure, their Bigneſs, their Motion, or their Quiet; which Particles being diſpos'd in a certain Manner, in a due Situation, Mixture, or Tex-

 ture,

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* In Towns and Cities that are demoliſh'd, and turn'd into Fields, and in Frontier Countries, and the Boundaries of Kingdoms, ſuch Tranſmutations are moſt remarkable. See *Plutarch*'s Account of the *Maſſalian* Fields after the Battle of *Cymbria*, in his Life of *Marcus*. Thoſe Lines of the Poet, to this Purpoſe, are ſufficiently known.

Jam ſeges eſt ubi Troja fuit: reſecandáque falce
Luxuriat Phrygio ſanguine pinguis humus.

Rank Herbs ſprout o'er the Place where Ilium *ſtood:*
Now a luxuriant Soil, fatten'd with Phrygian *Blood.*

ture, the Body becomes a Body of ſome determin'd Species, Order, and Name. Let us ſuppoſe then, for Example, that Fleſh and Blood conſiſt of Particles which are proper and peculiar to them: Now theſe Particles are not unalterable; and when, upon the Putrefaction of the Carcaſs, they are diſſolv'd, and paſs into other Bodies, it is impoſſible but that by paſſing through other Pores, and diſſimilar Channels in diſſimilar Bodies, they muſt alter their Figures and their Magnitudes, and ſo be transformed to Particles of another Kind; and therefore, if they were collected and mixed, they would not conſtitute Fleſh and Blood, but Subſtances and Juices of another Kind.

THE few Things that have been ſaid, if I am not miſtaken, have made it manifeſt, that for us to have the ſame Bodies at the Reſurrection that we have at preſent, would be a Work of little Significancy, and of vaſt Operation, if it would not be abſolutely impoſſible; which will appear ſtill the more clearly the more we weigh and conſider all thoſe Things that are included in that Identity. And beſides, whatever we diſcours'd of above, as well concerning the Matter as the Form of our Celeſtial Body, is to be added to theſe Arguments; for all that proves *a Fortiori*, that both Bodies cannot be the ſame, ſince they agree neither in Matter nor Form: And therefore both the ſeventh Chapter and this are confederated

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and related, and tranſmit their Light to the ſeveral Parts of each other: Both manifeſtly conſpire in the ſame Opinion, in the *Diverſity of our mortal and immortal Bodies; a Diverſity as well ſpecifical as numerical, as well with regard to Subſtances as to Accidents. †

HITHERTO we have examin'd what the ſacred Scripture on one Side, and what Reaſon

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* But you will object, perhaps, that it cannot be the ſame Perſon, unleſs there be the ſame Body, or at leaſt the greater Part of it. Yes, certainly, tho' the Soul were annex'd to no Part of its late dead Body; nay, tho' it were to have no Body at all, it would ſtill be the ſame Perſon. St. *Paul* ſays, he was ſnatch'd up into the third Heaven, and yet knew not whether in the Body, or out of the Body. Let us ſuppoſe it were out of the Body; was it not then the ſame *Paul*, and the ſame Perſon? Chriſt ſaid to the Thief, *To-day ſhalt thou be with me in Paradiſe*. The Body of this Thief remain'd ſtill upon the Croſs, and never went into Paradiſe. Whom was it then Chriſt took with him; another Perſon, or this ſame? Beſides, Chriſt himſelf was the ſame, or the ſame Perſon, during the three Days of his Death, whilſt the ſacred Trunk of his Body lay in the Grave. Likewiſe, all the Saints and Martyrs, Prophets and Patriarchs; in ſhort, all the Dead, good and bad, remain the ſame Perſons before they take up their Bodies again, as is plain from every one's enjoying their proper peculiar Portion, and ſeparate from all others.

† But if any one is ſo very fond of his terreſtrial Body, that he cannot be contented without it, let it riſe again, and let him have it, under the ſame Shape, and made up of the ſame Particles; I ſhall not ſtand much againſt it, provided he will allow that *terreſtrial Body* to be chang'd immediately into a heavenly one of another Form, and other Qualities.

ſon and the Nature of the Thing, on the other Side, dictate and determine concerning the ſame or a different Body in this and the future Life, in the Heavens and on the Earth; and as far as I am able to collect from the Teſtimonies on both Sides, the Difference, as it appears to me, muſt be this Way decided. According to the literal Hypotheſis in Scripture, the ſame Body which fell is to riſe again, the ſame Carcaſs that lies in the Sepulchre is to come forth from it. At the Call of Chriſt, or at the Sound of the Trumpet, the Sea ſhall caſt forth its Dead, and the Earth likewiſe its Dead, and every Element, every Region of this inferior World ſhall bring to Light the Carcaſſes either untouch'd or renew'd which it had ſwallow'd and conceal'd.

THIS appears to me to be the Idea of the Reſurrection, that is the moſt frequently to be met with in the ſacred Writings, and the Idea the moſt adapted to the Capacity of the Vulgar; which, therefore, we may be allow'd to call the *vulgar Hypotheſis:* But yet there are in the ſame ſacred Writings ſome occult Marks of the Body which we are to have at the Reſurrection, which to thoſe who look more narrowly into the Nature of Things, ſufficiently diſcover, that when we ſhall be equal to the Angels, and conformable to the Glory and the Refulgency of Chriſt himſelf, our Bodies will be then of another Order from thoſe which we have

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at present, and vastly different both as to Matter and Form, from this gross Structure of Members, and this Medley of Humours and Bowels; and therefore, that the secret Doctrine, or the reasonable Hypothesis upon this Point, is one Thing, and the Vulgar quite another. And this often happens in the Style of the sacred Scripture, that a Thing is express'd or represented popularly, and adapted to the Capacity of the Vulgar in some Places, while yet in others there are not wanting Marks, by which a diligent Searcher may bring forth the latent Truth to Light. *We speak Wisdom among the Perfect,* says the Apostle; and among the Imperfect, the Things that are more adapted to the Capacity of the People: By which Manner and Method of Instruction, the divine Wisdom appears to me to shine very brightly out, because at the same Time that Milk is provided for Children, solid Food is prepared for those who are come to Maturity.

1 Cor. ii. 6. Heb. v. 13, 14.

HITHERTO we have explain'd as succinctly and as distinctly as we possibly could, the weightier Points, as they appeared to us, in the Doctrine of the Resurrection, and of those sacred Bodies which we are to have in the Heavens; and that by laying before the Reader both the one and the other Hypotheses, the rational and the vulgar. 'Tis known to every one, and granted by all, that the sacred Scripture does often ἀνθρωπολογεῖν

λογῶν, ſpeak after the Manner of Men, in handling abſtruſer Points: And, if I am not miſtaken, both the Scene of the general Judgment, and that of the general Reſurrection, is repreſented after the Manner of Men in its firſt Appearance, and its external Ornaments; but if you look more narrowly into the Thing, the Thing itſelf, indeed, will appear the ſame, but will appear in a Form of a great deal more Simplicity: But ſome of the Antients, by not diſtinguiſhing between this double Hypotheſis, have render'd the Doctrine of the Reſurrection almoſt unintelligible.

But we ought to obſerve, that there is ſtill another Thing which occaſion'd Obſcurity or Confuſion in the handling this Point; and that is, from not ſufficiently diſtinguiſhing between the firſt Reſurrection and the ſecond, according to the Sentiments of the Antients: For many of the antient Fathers greatly diſtinguiſh'd between theſe, and were of Opinion, that we ſhould have one Kind of Body upon the firſt Reſurrection, and another upon the ſecond: That upon the firſt Reſurrection we ſhould have a Body compos'd of Fleſh and Bones, and Blood, like that which we have at preſent, but yet more pure and more perfect, ſuch as the Body of *Adam* in Paradiſe is believ'd to have been; but that upon the ſecond Reſurrection we ſhould have a Celeſtial and Spiritual Body, without Fleſh and without Blood,

Blood, like unto the glorious Body of Chriſt, the ſecond *Adam*; ſuch a one as is deſcrib'd by St. *Paul*, in his Diſcourſe to the *Corinthians*, concerning the Reſurrection. And as many of the Fathers as defended the millennial Kingdom of Chriſt, who were neither few nor inglorious, diſtinguiſh'd between the two Kinds of Bodies which we are to have after this Life. And this Diſtinction being once admitted, there are two different Ways of anſwering the Queſtions above propos'd, concerning the Nature and the Identity of Bodies upon the Reſurrection, which Anſwer is to be made according as the Queſtion is underſtood concerning the firſt or the ſecond Reſurrection. If the Queſtion is, What the Body will be upon the firſt Reſurrection? the Anſwer is, That it will be of Fleſh, but not the ſame numerical Body with that which we have at preſent. If the Queſtion is concerning the ſecond Reſurrection, the Anſwer is, That it will be the ſame numerical Body with that of its immediate Predeceſſor, but neither carnal nor terreſtrial; ſo that 'tis plain, that in this Debate nothing certain can be determin'd till the Parties are come to an Agreement concerning the State of the Caſe; that is, whether the Queſtion is concerning one only Reſurrection, or concerning a double one. But whatever we have ſaid above, from the ſacred Characters or Marks, concerning the Reſurrection, regards the laſt and univerſal Reſurrection, and the Celeſtial Bodies

Bodies which the Saints will then have: For this is the moſt noted and the moſt celebrated Reſurrection in all the ſacred Writings; upon which alone, if I am not miſtaken, the Apoſtle St. *Paul* founded his Diſſertation. But concerning the firſt Reſurrection in the millennial Kingdom of Chriſt, and the Renovation of all Things, we ſhall treat in the following Chapter; and that being explain'd, it will be more manifeſt and more perſpicuous what Judgment we are to form concerning this whole Matter.

In the mean Time 'tis rightly affirmed by *Tertullian*, that the great Dependance of Chriſtians is upon the Reſurrection of the Dead; which Aſſertion is true concerning either Reſurrection, and that Author has more than once made Mention of that firſt Reſurrection; for he was a Chiliaſt: And, therefore, we are to underſtand that *Treatiſe of the Reſurrection of the Fleſh*, (in which there is more Wit than Judgment,) to be meant of the firſt Reſurrection; when we are again to put on the Fleſh, or a carnal Body, and that here upon Earth. But the ſecond Reſurrection is rather a total Change, than a Reſurrection, and a Tranſition to an Angelical Life, or, that I may uſe his own Words, a * Mutation into an Angelical Subſtance; and

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*We acknowledge we have a Kingdom promiſed us upon Earth: And this, before we come to Heaven, but yet

and a Tranſlation into the Celeſtial Kingdom. In the like Manner when *Juſtin Martyr* treats of the firſt Reſurrection, he calls it, *the Reſurrection of the Fleſh, viz.* in the *Millennium*, (*p.* 307.) and *Irenæus* proves that that firſt Reſurrection will be a Reſurrection of the Fleſh, *Lib* v. *c.* 33.

BUT to return to that Saying of *Tertullian*, *The Reſurrection of the Dead makes the great Confidence and the Dependance of Chriſtians*. Chriſt is our Hope, Chriſt is our Life, who by his own powerful Word ſhall call the Dead into Life, he himſelf being the Head, and the firſt Fruits of the Reſurrection. But that Day of the Lord is the Day of Retribution to the Juſt, and the Reſtitution of all Things. The Coming of Chriſt, or of the Meſſiah, was the Hope and Expectation

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yet in another State, that is, after the Reſurrection, to continue for a thouſand Years in the divine *Jeruſalem*, a City brought down from Heaven, which the Apoſtle calls our *Mother which is above*, *&c.* This, I ſay, is provided by God for the Reception of the Saints at the Reſurrection, for the Refreſhment of all the Good and Spiritual-minded, and to make Amends for thoſe Things which we have neglected or loſt in this preſent Life. This is the Deſign of this earthly Kingdom; and after this has laſted a thouſand Years, within which Space the Reſurrection of all the Saints ſhall be compleated, ſome riſing ſooner, ſome later, according to their Merits, then ſhall follow the Deſtruction of the World, and the Fiery Judgment; and then we ſhall be chang'd in a Moment into Angelical Subſtances, by putting on that incorruptible Body, and be remov'd into the heavenly Kingdom. *Tertul. l.* 3. *contra Marc. cap. ult.*

Expectation of all good Men. Armies of Angels celebrated his Birth, crying, *Glory be to God on High, Peace upon Earth.* But how much greater will be the Glory in Heaven, how much greater will be the Peace upon Earth, upon the ſecond Coming of Chriſt, attended with a Guard of ten thouſand Angels. If *John*, when he was ſcarce alive, leapt in the Womb of his Mother, at the Luke i. Voice of *Mary* ſaluting *Elizabeth*; if the Virtue and Influence of Jeſus was ſo great, of Jeſus yet a little Infant, of Jeſus hardly conceiv'd, nay, hardly formed, and latent in the Bowels of his Mother, that *John* felt him approaching whom he was not able to ſee; how much a quicker and more powerful Senſe ſhall the Souls of the Dead, in which State ſoever they lie repoſed, have of the Coming of the ſame Chriſt in Triumph, have of the Approach of their God, while the Juſt lift up their Heads with Joy, the Time of their Redemption being at hand? God has in a great Meaſure concealed from us the Conditions of the middle World, or of the intermediate State, between the Day of Death, and the Reſurrection, and afflicts us with the Evils and Miſeries of this preſent Life, that we ſhould be the more intent upon the Hope of the Reſurrection to come, and ſhould at a mighty Diſtance, with erected Countenances, and, as it were, with ſtretched out Necks, expect the ſecond Coming of Chriſt, that glorious ἐπιφάνειαν. Since then

then we have this Hope, and this Confidence, let us perſiſt in Piety and in Virtue unſhaken, *as knowing that our Labour will not be in vain in the Lord.* Rom. viii. 18, 19, 20, 21, 22.

CHAP. IX.

Of the firſt and laſt Reſurrection: Of the new Heavens, and the new Earth, and the Renovation of Nature: Of the Millennian Kingdom of Chriſt, and the Conſummation of all Things.

WE have above taken Notice of a double Reſurrection: Firſt, which is to be particular: And laſt, which is to be univerſal. Which Diſtinction, indeed, is rarely to be met with in the ſacred Writings, and only in the *Revelations* of St. *John*, expreſly, if I am not miſtaken. Nor does this in the leaſt hurt the Truth of the Thing, nor is it foreign from the Uſe and Manner of the holy Spirit. The Prophets in the Old Teſtament did not foretel a double Coming of a Meſſiah, at leaſt, not explicitly, or in an Expreſſion adapted to the Capacity of the *Jews*; to whom it neither was known formerly, nor does it yet ſeem to be known. And, therefore, no Body ought to wonder, at leaſt, no Body ought to be offended, if Providence has been leſs frequent, or more

ſlow in the Revelation of this double Reſurrection; or at its reſerving the unfolding of that Myſtery for the laſt of its Prophets: For ſince it was his Buſineſs to comprehend and explain in his Prophecy both the proſperous and the adverſe Fates of the Chriſtian Church through every Age, to the Conſummation of all Things; both the Occaſion, the Time, and the Reaſon of the Thing required, that he ſhould not paſs by unmentioned or in Silence the Millennian Kingdom of Chriſt, or the firſt Reſurrection of the Saints: Therefore in the Twentieth Chapter of his Prophecy, he has diſcover'd and explain'd this Secret, which had lain hid through ſo many Ages.

Besides, we are to obſerve, that from this Error or Blindneſs of the *Jews*, concerning one only Coming of the Meſſiah, many other Errors proceeded. From hence they expected that the Meſſiah would be glorious, and illuſtrious, and powerful, from his very firſt Appearance; the Glory of his ſecond Coming being unhappily transferr'd to the firſt, or both being in one and the ſame confounded. Then they referred ſeveral Things beſides, which related entirely to the ſecond Coming of the Meſſiah, to the Days of the Meſſiah promiſcuouſly and without Diſtinction. And from thence they believed, that the Reſurrection would happen without any Diſtinction in the Days of the Meſſiah. From hence the Renovation

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of Earth, and Heaven, and all the other Marks of thoſe happy and glorious Times, which the Prophets foretold would be in the Days of the Meſſiah; that then the Age would come, of which they place ſo many, and ſuch wonderous Things to the Days of the Meſſiah. The *Jews* foretel that theſe and ſeveral Things beſides, as Peace and Juſtice, univerſal Plenty, and a Government entirely divine, would happen in thoſe Days; and all theſe Things they foretel moſt truly, if they are referred to the ſecond Coming of the Meſſiah. Diſtinguiſh but the Times, and all Things will then agree. But from the not rightly diſtinguiſhing thoſe, no ſmall Confuſion formerly aroſe in the Faith of the *Jews*, with regard to the foremention'd Heads, and no ſmall Confuſion to this very Day remains.

AFTER the ſame Manner, there has ariſen a Diſſention and Obſcurity, concerning the Nature and State of the Bodies which we ſhall have at the Reſurrection, becauſe the Chriſtian Authors have not diſtinguiſhed the firſt Reſurrection, from the ſecond; ſome, for Example, contending for Fleſh and Blood, and an organical Frame, and Bodies compounded and ſhap'd like thoſe which we have at preſent, while others are of Opinion, that our groſs Bodies will be chang'd into thin and ætherial ones. Each of theſe Opinions may be true, provided you diſtinguiſh between the two Reſurrections. Upon

the firſt Reſurrection, for Example, when we are to live under the new Heavens, and upon the new Earth, our Bodies will be terreſtrial, and compounded and ſhap'd like thoſe which we now have: But at the End of the Millennium, when we aſcend into Heaven, the ſame will be chang'd into Celeſtial and Ætherial Bodies, as the Nature of the Place and that Angelical Life will manifeſtly require; which we obſerv'd above.

But the Renovation of the World, and the Millennian Kingdom of Chriſt, which are Things of the greateſt Weight, will precede this Aſcenſion into Heaven, and ſecond Reſurrection, concerning which we ſpeak: We are oblig'd, therefore, to ſay a few Things beforehand concerning them. But a few Things will be ſufficient, becauſe we have treated more largely of each of them in the ſacred *Theory of the Earth*, l. iv.

The general Conflagration being over, and the Earth, by the extream Force of thoſe Fires, being reduc'd to a ſort of a Chaos; from that Chaos, by the Influence of divine Power and Wiſdom, a new Earth is to be form'd, after the Image of the primitive and Paradiſaick one, that is, without any Ocean, without Mountains or broken Rocks, or rugged Inequalities; to which will anſwer a new Heaven, ſerene and mild, and without nauſeous Vapours; and then will flouriſh a perpetual Spring, free from the

the Viciſſitudes of Seaſons, or the Inconveniences of Heat and Cold; concerning which new and at preſent unuſual Phænomena's, in the foreſaid Book, we have ſufficiently treated. Theor. Prædic. c. 5 & 9.

ALL Antiquity, as well ſacred as profane, has celebrated this future Renovation of the World, as we have ſhewn in another Place. Among the antient Prophets, *Iſaiah* twice declares, that there would be new Heavens, and a new Earth; and adds, that the Marks of this Renovation of Nature would be the Longevity, or rather the Immortality of its Inhabitants, and a Race of harmleſs Animals. St. *John*, in his Viſions concerning the new *Jeruſalem*, acquaints us, that he had beheld new Heavens and a new Earth; and adds, that the Characteriſtical Mark of that new Earth would be, that it would have no Sea. This Reſurrection of the World, if I may uſe the Expreſſion, is ſaid by Chriſt to be παλιγγενεσία; in which Term is included the Pre-exiſtence of the World, which is underſtood here, its Deſtruction, and its Regeneration. After the ſame Manner St. *Peter*, in his Diſcourſe to the *Jews*, makes uſe of ἀποκατάστασις, *the Times of the Reſtitution of all Things:* And both in one and the other Paſſage, you have for a Characteriſtical Mark a Time of Reward and Recompence, and by conſequence an Age to come. St. *Paul*, in ſeveral Places, hints at this future Renovation of the World:

Chap. lxv. & lxvi.

Rev. xxi. 1.

Mat. xix. 28.

Acts iii. 21.

Rom. viii. 20, 21.

Firſt, he teaches us, that Nature, as it ſtands now, is made ſubject to Vanity, and ſhall be freed from the Bondage of Corruption when the Sons of God ſhall enjoy a glorious Liberty: But that this Diſcourſe of the Apoſtle is to be underſtood of the natural World, has, I believe, in another Place been ſufficiently prov'd. Laſtly, the ſame Apoſtle acquaints us, that τὴν οἰκουμένην τὴν μέλλουσαν, *the future World ſhall be inhabited* when the Figure of this ſhall have paſs'd away; and ſubjects it to Chriſt, as to its proper Maſter, *Heb.* ii. 5. 1 *Cor.* vii. 31. But the Diſcourſe of St. *Peter*, in his ſecond general Epiſtle, Chap. iii. is much more clear and open than all theſe; where he treats of this Matter diſtinctly, and not only aſſerts that there will be new Heavens and a new Earth, but likewiſe makes Mention of the two that precede them, and diſtinguiſhes them into the *Antediluvian* and the *Preſent*. But now ſince this Paſſage of St. *Peter* ſeems to me to be irrefutable and unanſwerable, beſides what we have already ſaid ſuccinctly, it will be highly worth our while to dwell ſomething longer upon it.

Archæol. Philoſ. l. 2. c. 2.

The Adverſaries of this Opinion convert into Allegories whatever has been ſaid by the Prophets concerning this new Heaven, and this new Earth, and ſo pretend to elude it; but the foreſaid Diſcourſe of St. *Peter* about theſe ſame new Heavens and new Earth, can, by no Strength of human Underſtanding,

derſtanding, and no human Art, be reſolv'd into Allegories, or wreſted from the literal Senſe. 'Tis expreſly ordain'd, and induſtriouſly inſtituted, to ſhew the mutable Nature of Things, and a ſucceſſive threefold World; I mean the natural World, concerning which the Diſpute was with thoſe Scoffers, Ver. 3. And 'tis remarkable, that by the Words *Heaven and Earth*, the *Hebrews* underſtood the viſible World, or the Nature of Things. But let us, if you pleaſe, take a View of the Words of the Apoſtle relating to this Matter, (Ver. 11, 12, 13.)

SEEING then that all theſe Things ſhall be diſſolv'd, what Manner of Perſons ought we to be in all holy Converſation and Godlineſs; looking for, and haſting unto the Coming of the Day of God, wherein the Heavens being on Fire, ſhall be diſſolv'd, and the Elements ſhall melt with fervent Heat. Nevertheleſs we, according to his Promiſe, look for new Heavens, and a new Earth, wherein Righteouſneſs ſhall dwell.

THERE are ſeveral Things in this Diſcourſe of the Apoſtle, which, compar'd with what precedes it, plainly diſcover, that the Words *new Heaven and new Earth*, are confin'd in their Signification to the viſible and natural World: Firſt, the Force, the Uſe, and the Signification of the ſame Words, or of the ſame Phraſeology, in the Verſes that are antecedent to it; ſecondly, the very Form, Structure, and Context of the Speech,

by which this Renovation is expreſs'd; and laſtly, the Time to which it relates. All theſe are as ſo many Witneſſes, which prove that the Apoſtle here ſpeaks of material and real, and not imaginary and allegorical Earth and Heavens. As for the firſt Proof of this, the ſame Diction, or the ſame Manner of ſpeaking, no leſs than twice occurs to us in this very Chapter. In the fifth Verſe of it we have, *the Earth and the Heavens which formerly were*, or which are paſt, that is to ſay, the Antediluvian World. In the ſeventh Verſe we have, the *Earth and the Heavens which now are*, that is, which are preſent to us, or the Poſt-diluvian World. Laſtly, in the thirteenth Verſe we find, *the new Heavens, and new Earth*, that are to come, that is, after the Conflagration. But now ſince, by the Conſent of all, *the Heavens and the Earth*, both in the fifth and the ſeventh Verſe, are to be underſtood literally of the material and natural Frame and Structure of the Earth and the Heavens, I would fain know by what Right, or by what Rule of Interpreting, we can be juſtify'd in wreſting the very ſame Words, or the very ſame Expreſſion, in the ſame Chapter, in the ſame Context, in the Continuation of the ſame Argument, to a foreign Signification? So that by the firſt and ſecond Paſſage we underſtand the natural World; but a figurative and allegorical World by the third Paſſage; and this without the leaſt Mark from the

the Author, that he has chang'd his Style, or the leaſt Neceſſity on the Part of the Subject Matter.

But now ſecondly, the Form of this Diſcourſe, and the Manner by which 'tis coherent with and dependant on what precedes it, both equally teſtify the ſame Thing. After the Apoſtle had deſcrib'd the Burning of the preſent World, he adds, *But*, or *nevertheleſs we expect new Heavens, and a new Earth.* He ſubſtitutes theſe new Heavens and this new Earth in the room of thoſe that were burnt and periſh'd. Theſe, then, muſt be of the ſame Kind with thoſe that periſh'd, that is to ſay, material, and not allegorical; which is the ſame Thing as if the Apoſtle had ſaid, Tho' the preſent Heavens and the preſent Earth muſt one Day periſh, as we have already explain'd to you; yet here will not be an abſolute End, (which perhaps you may ſuſpect,) but only a Renovation of all Things; for we expect, according to the Promiſe which we have receiv'd from God, that other Heavens, and another Earth, in which the Righteous ſhall dwell, will ſucceed thoſe which are now. But thirdly, and laſtly, ſince this new World, or this Renovation, be that what it will, is not to appear till after the general Conflagration, we may certainly infer from the Time, that by this Renovation cannot be underſtood any Evangelical Renovation, (as our allegorical Adverſaries are pleas'd

to assert,) or any other in this Life. And these Arguments, unless I am mistaken, prove unanswerably, that the Heavens and Earth, in this Discourse of the Apostle, are to be taken, κατὰ κυριολεξιαν, according to the genuine Force of the Words, and the manifest Nature of the Thing.*

These Things being thus laid down and granted, let this be the first Conclusion drawn from them, *That the natural World, or the Heavens, and the Earth, will be renewed after the Conflagration:* And then let this be the second Conclusion to be prov'd by what is to follow, *That the Millennium, or the millennian Kingdom of Christ, is to be celebrated in the World renewed, or the Renovation of Earth and Heaven.*

The millennian Kingdom of Christ was esteem'd an orthodox Doctrine by the primitive Christians, and continued for a while unpolluted, and for that Reason uncontroverted:

* We very justly accuse the *Socinians* of their unfair and perverse Interpretation, in wresting what St. *John* says in the Beginning of his Gospel about the natural World, into a moral and allegorical Sense: But they who, in the present Case, * * * * fall into the very same Error, and are equally culpable, whilst they interpret what St. *Peter* so plainly says of the material World, as though he had meant it of a moral and allegorical one. * * * * For I will be bold to affirm, that St. *John*, in the Beginning of his Gospel, does not more clearly or distinctly intend the natural World, than St. *Peter* does here, when he speaks of new Heavens and a new Earth.

verted: But when the more modern Millennaries had partly corrupted this Doctrine, and partly saw less clearly into it, who plac'd the Seat of this Kingdom in the present Earth, and its Felicity in the present Life; and when this Error had given a Handle to warm and fanatick Spirits, puff'd up with a groundless Hope, of raising great Disturbances in the Church, which gave Offence to the Good and the Wise; this innocent and orthodox Doctrine began to lose its Reputation with many, and is, even to this Day, in some measure, inviduous. Wherefore, that we may find a Remedy for this Mischief, it will be worth our while briefly to unfold what the antient Fathers determin'd concerning this Matter, and when and where they believ'd that this Kingdom would be.

As to the Point itself, we have already, in another Place, if I am not very much mistaken, prov'd from the Writings of the Prophets and the Apostles, that there will be one Day a millennian Kingdom of Christ upon Earth, either the Earth which we have at present, or the new one which will succeed it: And the most antient Fathers of almost all Nations are produc'd as Witnesses in this Cause. Many *Grecians*, and likewise *Latins* and *Africans*. In this Number are chiefly *Papias*, the *Hieropolitan* Bishop, *Justin Martyr*, and the Reviver or Enlarger of the *Sibylline* Verses before the Time of *Justin*; the Writer of the Epistle that goes

goes under the Name of St. *Barnaby*, *Irenæus*, *Melito* of *Sardis*, *Methodius*: Beſides theſe, there is *Tertullian*, and St. *Cyprian*, his Diſciple, *Africans*: Then there is *Nepos*, the *Egyptian* Biſhop, and *Victorinus* and *Lactantius*, *Latins*. All theſe liv'd within the third Century, while the Apoſtolick * Doctrine yet remain'd intire and uncorrupted. And of theſe Fathers there are ſome who do not only declare that this is their own Opinion, but the Opinion of the whole Church that was contemporary with them, and of all others who had right Sentiments with regard to the Chriſtian Faith; nay, ſome of them do not doubt to affirm, that this Doctrine deſcended traditionally from St. *John* and the other Apoſtles.

But beſides theſe expreſs Teſtimonies which offer themſelves naturally the firſt in the Cauſe before us, there are other Arguments and Proofs that are founded on the Hiſtory of thoſe Times, which manifeſtly ſhew that this Doctrine *of the Kingdom*, for ſo it was formerly call'd, was eſteem'd a Chriſtian Doctrine; and that, as well by the Heathens as ours. By the Heathens, I ſay, who dreaded that King whom the Chriſtians expected ſhould come; whom, therefore, they accus'd of Ambition, or of ſpreading the Seeds of Sedition, and of believing that they ſhould one

* See the Place of *Gennadius*. The Treatiſe of *Tychonius* is in *BB. PP.* and in *Orthodoxogr.*

one Day obtain a Kingdom upon Earth. The forementioned *Justin*, in the Apology which he made for the Christians to *Antoninus Pius*, has these Words, which manifestly relate to this very Matter: Ὑμεῖς ἀκούσαντες βασιλείας προσδοκῶντας ἡμᾶς, ἀκρίτως ἀνθρώπινον λέγειν ἡμᾶς ὑπειλήφατε, ἡμῶν τὴν μετὰ Θεοῦ λεγόντων, &c. *You hearing it said that we expect a Kingdom, believe that we are foolish enough to mean a human Kingdom, whereas we intend such a one in which we are to reign together with God:* For whereas the Christians were wont to exhort one another to suffer Death with a dauntless Spirit, because they who were Martyrs in the Cause of Christ were to have the Enjoyment of this Kingdom, the Heathens understood by this a Kingdom in the present Life, as if the Christians were attempting something against the *Roman* Empire, or entertain'd a Belief that they should become the Lords of it. To whom *Justin*, in the following Words, returns a very proper Answer: *Since we suffer Death in the Cause of Christ with so chearful a Spirit, 'tis manifest, that either we have no Hope of a Kingdom in this Life, or that we rashly and foolishly throw away that Hope, and destroy it together with Life.*

Besides, the same Thing is prov'd by the Acts of *Domitian:* For as *Herod*, after Christ was born, was afraid he should take his Kingdom from him, by reason of a Report

port among the *Jews*, that the Meſſiah, whom at that Time they expected, would reſtore the Kingdom to *Iſrael*; ſo afterwards *Domitian* the Emperor, as the Hiſtorians relate, caus'd all to be deſtroyed that ſprung from the Root of *David*; and caus'd the Relations of Chriſt to be examin'd, that they might give an Account of Chriſt and his Kingdom, what it was, and when and where it was to appear; which Inquiry was occaſioned by the Diſcourſes and Books of the Chriſtians concerning the Kingdom of Chriſt that was one Day to be upon Earth.*

Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccl. l. iii. c. 15. See likewiſe Nicephor. l. iii. c. 10, 11.

So

* Our Saviour never deny'd (though he had many Opportunities offer'd him of denying it) that he was † a King, or that he ſhould have a Kingdom. He ſaid, indeed, to *Pilate*, when he ask'd him whether he was the King of the *Jews*, that *his Kingdom was not of this World*; which is true enough; for in this World the Wicked, Satan, and Antichriſt reign; but when theſe his Enemies ſhall be deſtroy'd, and the World renew'd, in that new World he ſhall reign, together with his Saints. Chriſt deny'd the Sons of *Zebedee* the *firſt Seats* in his Kingdom, but never diſown'd the Kingdom itſelf: So likewiſe when his Diſciples ask'd him about the Time of his Kingdom, *Acts* i. 6. he did not think proper, 'tis true, to inform them as to that very Point; but neither does he deny that he was to have a Kingdom ſome Time. But that Chriſt, as well as they that propos'd the Thing to him, underſtood it of the terreſtrial, and not the celeſtial eternal Kingdom, appears from thoſe earthly and temporal good Things which he promiſes or makes mention of in this his future Kingdom. He promiſes his Diſciples temporal good Things, ἐν τῇ παλιγγενεσίᾳ, *Matt.* xix. 18. (which Words, we have before obſerv'd, denote the Renovation of the World:) And at his laſt Supper he tells them, that *he would not drink*

† See Luke xxiii. Acts xvii. 7.

So much for the Heathens: To come to the Chriſtians. This ſeems to me to be a Proof of their Faith as to this Point, that *they put up Prayers for the Dead*, that they might have a Part in the firſt Reſurrection. That Prayers and Oblations for the Dead were for ſome Ages in Uſe, as we obſerv'd above, is to me indubitable; not that this was done always with the ſame Deſign, nor that they always in their Supplications deſir'd the ſame Favours and the ſame Benefits for the Souls of the Departed: That they might enjoy Peace and Reſt, and be free from the extream Violence of the torturing Fires, that they might quickly riſe again, and have a Part in the firſt Reſurrection: This was the Sum of their Prayers. The laſt of theſe is plainly expreſs'd by *Tertullian*, when in theſe Words he deſcribes the Duty of a pious Wife towards her departed Husband: *She prays for his Soul; and in the mean Time deſires Refreſhment for him, and a Share for him in the firſt Reſurrection:* And in another Place he eſteems the Delay

See the Appendix, at the End of the fourth Chapter.

De Monog. cap. 10.

De Anim. cap. ult.

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drink of the Juice of the Vine till he drank it new with them in the Kingdom of his Father, *Matt.* xxvi. 29. And at the ſame Time he ſays, *Luke* xxii. 29, 30. *I appoint unto you a Kingdom, as my Father hath appointed unto me, that ye may eat and drink at my Table in my Kingdom.* In Heaven there is no eating or drinking; and although thoſe Words are ſometimes uſed metaphorically, yet we muſt keep cloſe to the primary Signification of all Words, unleſs Neceſſity obliges us to give them another Signification, which is not the Caſe here.

Delay of the Reſurrection to be inſtead of a Puniſhment for the Expiation of lighter Faults. Nor were the Prayers unlike to theſe which St. *Ambroſe*, in his Funeral Oration for *Valentinian* the Second, puts up to God for the two Brothers, *Gratian* and *Valentinian*, ſnatch'd from the World by an untimely Death. He ends the Oration with theſe Words: *I beſeech thee, Almighty God, that thou wouldſt raiſe up theſe two Youths, who were dear and amiable to me, and to all who knew them, by a timely Reſurrection, and that thou wouldſt recompenſe their untimely Death by an early Reſurrection.* And in another Place, purſuing the ſame Point, he eſtabliſhes divers Ranks and Degrees of thoſe that riſe from the Dead, and makes them riſe at different Times. Laſtly, in the antient *Gothick* Liturgy*, this Form of publick Prayers is preſcribed; *That God would vouchſafe to place the Souls of thoſe who are at reſt in the Boſom of* Abraham, *and admit them to a Share of the firſt Reſurrection, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord:* For when the Antients did not believe that the Souls of the Righteous did aſcend into Heaven immediately after Death, there to enjoy ſupream Glory and beatifick Viſion; and when before that Time they expected the

You may find the Places in Daille de Uſ. PP. p. 288. ult.

* Conſult other Liturgies, *Moſarab.* and *Ambroſ.* or *Ital.* See *Daille de pœn. p.* 513. *ult.*

the first Resurrection, and the Kingdom of Christ; and esteemed the Enjoyment of that as the first Degree of Beatitude, they put up Prayers to God that this State, that this Resurrection might be granted to those who were fallen asleep in the Lord, as a Pledge of their future Glory, and a sort of Initiation into celestial Life.

But enough of this: For there is no Occasion to say any more of a Thing that is known and granted; for they who are most conversant in the Writings of the Ancients, or of modern and living Authors, though they are not of the Party of the Millennaries; yet they acknowledge, that this Doctrine of the Kingdom of Christ upon Earth, was very much received in the first Ages of the Church. But in what Earth, the present or the future, this millennian Kingdom of Christ is to be erected, they do not equally agree. 'Tis vulgarly believed by the more modern Millennaries, that Christ will have his Kingdom in this Life, and upon the present Earth. But this Belief of theirs, if I am not extreamly mistaken, is neither agreeable to the Sense of the Ancients, nor to the Sense of sacred Scripture; nor, lastly, to the Nature of the Thing itself: As to those ancient Millennaries, whose Writings are still remaining, they all of them speak of the Renovation of the natural World to be accomplished upon the Coming of Christ. *Justin* mentions it more than once in his Dialogue with *Trypho:*

Page 307. *Trypho*: And places the Millennium in the new and re-eſtabliſhed *Jeruſalem*, quoting to that Purpoſe the Words of the Prophets concerning the new Heavens and the new Earth. Then (*p.* 369.) he calls that Earth, in which the Saints together with Chriſt are to reign, τὴν τῶν ἁγίων γῆν, *The Land of the Saints*. And he attributes no leſs to Chriſt τὴν καινόργησιν, *the Renovation of the World*, than the firſt Formation of the World itſelf. *p.* 340.

'Tis after the ſame Manner that *Irenæus* joins the Renovation of Nature with the Times of the Kingdom. *The foremention'd Benediction*, ſays he, which is the Promiſe that was made to *Jacob* concerning the Fertility of the Earth, *belongs undoubtedly to the Times of the Kingdom, when the Juſt ſhall riſe from the Dead and reign; and when the Creature renew'd, and freed from its original Curſe, ſhall bring forth abundantly all Sorts of Food, both from the Dew of the Heavens, and the Fertility of the Earth.* He ſays the ſame Thing, or what is equivalent to it, in the following Chapter, and ſo onward to the End of the Book.

Lib. v. c. 13.

Lib. vii. c. 22. The following Words of *Lactantius* ſeem to have the ſame Tendency: *For God will come*, ſays he, *to cleanſe this Globe from all its Pollution, and to raiſe up the reviving Souls of the Juſt, infuſed into new Bodies, to the Enjoyment of eternal Felicity.* Laſtly, if we may believe *Gelaſius* of *Cyzicum*, the *Nicene* Fathers were of the ſame Opinion, and

and placed the Kingdom of Chriſt and the Righteous, upon the new Earth in theſe Words: Καινὸς οὐρανὸς καὶ καινὴν γῆν προσδοκῶμεν, κατὰ τὰ θεῖα γράμματα· φαινομένης ἡμῖν τῆς ἐπιφανείας καὶ βασιλείας τοῦ μεγάλου Θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, *&c. We expect new Heavens, and a new Earth, according to the ſacred Writings, when the illuſtrious Preſence and the Kingdom of our great God, and our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt ſhall appear to us. And then, as ſaith* Daniel, (*Chap.* vii. 18.) *the Saints ſhall receive the Kingdom of the moſt High; and the Earth ſhall be pure, righteous, holy; the Earth of the Living, and not of the Dead: Which* David *foreſeeing by the Eyes of Faith, cries out* (Pſal. xxvii. 13.) *I had fainted, unleſs I had believed I ſhould ſee the Goodneſs of the Lord in the Land of the Living, the Land of the Meek and Humble. Bleſſed are the Meek,* ſays Chriſt, *for they ſhall inherit the Earth. And,* ſays Iſaiah, *the Feet of the Meek and Humble ſhall tread upon it.* Hiſt. Act. Conc. Nic. Chap. xxvi. 6. You ſee, that according to theſe Fathers, the Seat of the Millennium will be in the new Heavens, and the new Earth; and conſequently, according to the Opinion of the ancient Millenaries, that bleſſed Order of Things is not to be expected before the Renovation of the World.

I MUST confeſs the Ancients do not always agree concerning the Order of the Con-

flagration and Renovation of the World, which ſhould precede, and which ſhould follow. *Tertullian* ſeems to make the Conflagration follow the Renovation; but erroneouſly. And he might eaſily have corrected his Error from the Words of *St. Peter*, who, the Heavens and Earth being burnt, has new Heavens and a new Earth immediately at hand to ſucceed them, for the Juſt to inhabit. Nor is it eaſy to conceive the Renovation of the World, without the preceding Conflagration, or at leaſt without ſome vehement Concuſſion or Conflagration, which ſhould deſtroy the Race of Men, eſpecially, if, according to the Idea of St. *John*, the new Earth ſhould have a new Form, and the new habitable World ſhould be without a Sea. And this, perhaps, may give Occaſion to many to err, becauſe there is to be a twofold Mutation of the World, one at the Beginning, and the other at the End of the *Millennium*; when the Earth and the Heavens ſhall fly away, and their Place ſhall be found no more. But this Flight of the Earth and the Heavens, and the deſerting their ancient Place, which is to be at the End of the Millennium, is by no Means to be underſtood of the common Conflagration, but of ſome more remarkable Change, ſuch as at the End of the Millennium will accrue to the Bodies of the Saints which will then be tranſported into celeſtial Regions.

Ibid.

2 Epiſt. iii. 12, 13.

Revel. xxi. 1.

Revel. xx. 11.

But these Things by the Way: Let us proceed in what we design'd; and let us now see upon what Earth, whether the present or the future, *the sacred Authors* place that Kingdom in which Christ is to reign together with his Saints. St. *John* (*Rev.* xxi. 1, 2.) saw new Heavens and a new Earth; then he saw the holy City, or the new *Jerusalem*, descending from the Heavens, that is to say, into that new Earth, for whither could it else descend? But 'tis plain from the foregoing Chapter, that the holy City, (the same with the beloved City,) is the Kingdom of Christ, or the Metropolis of that Kingdom, and consequently that the Prophet saw the Kingdom of Christ descending upon the new Earth, upon which it was to have its Seat. [Chap. xx. 9.] [Isa. lxv. 17, 18.]

Besides, the whole Series of the Apocalyptick Visions, and the Length of Time in which they are contained, leave no Room for the Millennium, and the Things that must go before it, within the Limits of this present World. I really believe that this World will not, at most, remain a thousand Years from this present Time: And if any Faith is to be given to that Prophesy of the *Jews*, relating to the six thousand Years appointed by God for the Duration of the World, (which Prophesy not a few of the Christian Fathers have come into,) there cannot be above five hundred Years from hence to the End of all Things. But to dwell no longer

upon this: 'Tis however apparent that the Hypotheſis of the more modern Millenaries requires too much Time for the remaining Duration of the World, if we calculate according to St. *John* in his *Revelations:* For according to that prophetick Syſtem, many Things remain to be prepared and accompliſhed before the Kingdom of Chriſt and the Saints can begin. The Reign of the Saints is not to begin till Antichriſt is utterly deſtroy'd, and Satan bound: But many Things are to precede the Deſtruction of Antichriſt, which we have not ſeen accompliſhed. The Witneſſes have not riſen nor aſcended: The third Part of the City has not fallen: The ſecond Woe is not paſt; nor the third begun. All which we are told in the eleventh Chapter of the *Revelations*, are to come to paſs before the Deſtruction of Antichriſt. Beſides, the Phials are not yet poured forth, according to the ſixteenth Chapter; nor do we certainly know how many yet remain to be emptied. Laſtly, the Things that follow from hence to the twentieth Chapter, where the Kingdom of Chriſt begins, remain to be put in Execution againſt Antichriſt, to diminiſh, and at length utterly to aboliſh his Kingdom, and to prepare the Theatre of the Earth for the glorious Appearance of Chriſt. But how much Time will be required for the Accompliſhment of all theſe in their Order, I hardly dare ſo much as conjecture. But let that Time be

Rev. xx.

longer

longer or ſhorter, it muſt neceſſarily precede the bleſſed Age of the Millennium, and make the Age of the World extend ſo much the farther.

BUT as in the Accompliſhment of theſe Things, no ſmall Time will elapſe; ſo according to the ſame Revelation, theſe Things being accompliſhed, the End of the World immediately follows; nor is there Time or Space enough left for a thouſand Years of Happineſs to intervene. As ſoon as the ſeventh Trumpet has ſounded, the Time is ſaid to be at hand, or preſent, of judging the Dead, and conſequently the End of the World; for before that Time, the Dead are not to be judged. In like Manner, the Beaſt being overcome, is thrown into the Lake of burning Sulphur; which ſeems to me to denote the Conflagration of the World, if 'tis compared with the Viſions of *Daniel*, (*Chap.* vii. 11.) and the Doctrine of St. *Paul*, 2 *Theſſ.* i. 8. & ii. 8. Chap. xi. 18. Chap. xix. 20.

THE Epocha of the Kingdom of Chriſt, and his Saints, is every where in Scripture ſhewn by this Mark, That 'tis join'd with the Day of Judgment, or is introduced as ſoon as that has preceded it. And there ſeems to be Occaſion for no other Proof to convince us, that that Kingdom is not to be expected in this Life, or in the preſent Age. But let us, if you pleaſe, compare a little the Paſſages concerning this Matter of the Prophets *Daniel* and St. *John*. In the fore-

mentioned ſeventh Chapter of *Daniel*, from Verſe the Ninth to the End, the Sitting of the Judgment is often repeated, either as previous to the Kingdom of the Saints, or in Conjunction with it, *Ver.* 22. when the Ancient of Days ſhall come, Judgment, together with the Kingdoms, ſhall be delivered to the Saints. Then the Judgment being ſet, (*ver.* 26, 27.) *the Kingdom, and Dominion, and the Greatneſs of the Kingdom under the whole Heaven ſhall be given to the People of the Saints of the Moſt High.* After the ſame Manner St. *John* treads in the Footſteps of *Daniel* in this Matter, as he is wont to do in others; not only becauſe, being about to paint the *Millennium*, he firſt cauſes the Judgment-Seats to be placed in the twentieth
Ver. 4. Chapter, but becauſe before in the eleventh Chapter, as we obſerved above, he had connected the Time of judging the Living and the Dead, with the Time of the Reign and Dominion of Chriſt and the Saints. As ſoon as the ſeventh Trumpet had ſounded, it was proclaimed with a loud Voice in Heaven:
Chap. xi. 15. *The Kingdoms of this World are become the Kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Chriſt, and he ſhall reign for ever and ever.* And
Ver. 18. immediately afterwards, *the appointed Time is come that the Dead ſhould be judged, and that thou ſhouldeſt give Reward to thy Servants the Prophets, and to thy Saints, and*
Ver. 19. *to them that fear thy Name.* —— *And the Temple of God was opened in Heaven, and there*

there was seen in his Temple the Ark of his Testament, &c.

'Tis manifest, that here the Prophet represents both the Kingdom and the Times of the Kingdom, as the Ancients express themselves: And this Idea answers in both its Parts to the Description of the same Kingdom in the Prophet *Daniel*, both as to the Dominion given to the Saints, and the Time of that Dominion, that is, when the Dead are to be judg'd; which solemn Time, when it is not to arrive before the End of World, neither will the blessed Millennium begin before that Time, according to these sacred Oracles; and then, as for the last Part of the Description, of the Temple open'd, and the Ark of the Covenant conspicuous in it, that is to be understood of the *Schechinah*, which shone upon the Ark of the Covenant in the *Sanctum Sanctorum*, and which will appear still more illustrious in the Kingdom of Christ, and the blessed Millennium of which we are now speaking, as will be explain'd below.

To these Remarks and Calculations of the Prophets, concerning the Times of the Kingdom, consonant are the Words of Christ, when he joins τὴν παλιγγενεσίαν, and the Judgment Session together, *Matt.* xix. 29. *You*, says he, *who have follow'd me*, ἐν τῇ παλιγγενεσίᾳ, in the Regeneration and Renovation of Things, *when the Son of Man shall sit upon the Throne of his Glory, you also shall sit upon twelve Thrones, judging*

the twelve Tribes of Iſrael: *And whoever ſhall leave Houſe*, &c. Here the Judicial Pomp, you ſee, is expreſs'd: But that Chriſt ſpeaks here of his Millennian Kingdom, there are two Things that diſcover: The firſt is, that both the foremention'd Prophets introduce this Kingdom after the ſame Manner that 'tis introduc'd by Chriſt, as is manifeſt by what went before. The ſecond is, that Chriſt marks and points to this Renovation, for the Time and Place in which Reward and Retribution ſhall be render'd to the Saints, and to the faithful Servants of Chriſt; after the ſame Manner that St. *John* ſaid afterwards, deſcribing the ſame Time and the ſame State; *the Time is come* of judging the Dead, and rendering Reward to thy Servants. Thus the ſacred Writers agree in marking out the Time in which the Beginning of the Millennium is deferr'd till the End of the World.

But ſo much concerning the Time of the future Millennium: Let us now return to its Seat, which we have placed in the new Heavens and the new Earth, according to the Viſion ſeen by St. *John*. And after the ſame Manner the Prophet *Iſaiah*, after he had ſaid that God would make new Heavens, and a new Earth, and a triumphant *Jeruſalem*, immediately ſubjoins to them a new Order of Nature, and a joyful, a pacifick, and a happy State of Man; by which he repreſents to us the Kingdom of the Juſt, and

Rev. xxi.
Iſaiah lxv. 17, &c.

and the Felicity of that Kingdom; which I ſpeak the more confidently, and the more confidently thus interpret, when I ſee St. *Peter* aſſigning the new Heavens and the new Earth, which the Prophets have promiſed, as a Seat and a Habitation to the Juſt to dwell in, which cannot be conceiv'd or explain'd any other Way than of the Kingdom of which we are ſpeaking. 2 Epiſt. iii. 13.

LASTLY, Beſides theſe prophetick Expreſſions, by which the Kingdom of Chriſt is join'd with the new Heavens and the new Earth, expreſly or implicitely, the ſame may be prov'd by the Time of the Coming of Chriſt to his Kingdom, which the *Millenarians* acknowledge will be at the Beginning of this Kingdom: But Chriſt will not come to his Kingdom before the End of the World, or before the Time of the Renovation of all Things; and by conſequence the Millennium will not begin before the ſame Term of Time. Ἀποκατάϛασις πάντων and παλιγγενεσία denote the Renovation of the World; but before theſe two, the Coming of Chriſt will not be. The firſt of theſe we are taught by St. *Peter* fully and perſpicuouſly in his Sermon of *Acts* iii. 21. when he ſays concerning Chriſt, *whom the Heavens muſt receive till the Time of the Reſtitution of all Things, which God hath ſpoken by the Mouth of all his holy Prophets ſince the World began.* In like manner, as to the other, Chriſt himſelf has appointed his

his Coming, by which he is to recompenſe thoſe who for his ſake have ſuffer'd Evil in this preſent Life, ἐν τῇ παλιγγενεσίᾳ, *in the Regeneration*, *Matt.* xix. 28, 29. which we have ſhewn above, by the Things that are joined with it, is to be underſtood of his Kingdom in the World renew'd; when, like a King, or a mighty Conqueror, he ſhall diſtribute the Spoils and the Trophies, and the great Rewards which follow the Peace that is at laſt obtain'd, to his Soldiers and his faithful Servants, who bore all the Heat, and ſuſtain'd all the Fury and the Danger of the War; nor does this Promiſe only regard the Enjoyment of Heaven and eternal Glory, when it mentions temporal and external Goods beſides everlaſting Life. And the Diſcourſe of St. *Paul* is exactly agreeable to this, when he ſubjects to Chriſt, as to its King, the future habitable World, τὴν * οἰκουμένην τὴν μέλλουσαν, or עולם הבא, † as the *Hebrews* expreſs themſelves,

Heb. ii. 5, 6.

* Οἰκουμένη, according to its Etymology, ſignifies an inhabited Place, and by the Rules of Syntax, γῆ, *Earth*, muſt be underſtood.

† The Expreſſion αἰὼν μέλλων, or עולם הבא, is either taken largely for the Times of the Meſſiah in general, or more particularly for the Times of the Meſſiah's Reign. In this laſt confin'd and more proper Senſe 'tis diſtinct both from the preſent Age and from Eternity, or that Time when Chriſt is to deliver up all Dominion into the Hands of the Father. And in this proper Senſe, *viz.* taken for ſome Age between this Preſent and Eternity,

ſelves, which they likewiſe ſubject to the Meſſiah.

LASTLY, That I may finiſh this Matter, the ſacred Scripture acknowledges no future Coming of Chriſt before his coming to Judgment, or before the End of the World; and therefore the Apoſtle St. *Paul* to *Timothy* joins theſe three together, the Judgment of the Dead, the Appearance of Chriſt, and his Kingdom: *I charge thee before God and the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who ſhall judge the Quick and the Dead, at his Appearance, and his Kingdom.**

Mat. xxiii. 39.

2 Ep. iv. 1.

WE have hitherto ſaid thus much by ſacred Authority, concerning the Seat of the Millennian Kingdom in the new Heavens, and the new Earth: Beſides, the Thing ſpeaks itſelf, and Reaſon enforces the ſame Thing; for to what End ſhould there be a new Earth,

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nity, it is often us'd in Scripture. Chriſt, it is ſaid, will reign ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι μέλλοντι, *in the World to come*, *Epheſ.* i. 22, 23. *Heb.* ii. 5, 6. But he does not as yet reign in that Senſe; neither will he reign in that Senſe when he ſhall have deliver'd up the Kingdom into the Hands of the Father, *viz.* after the final Reſurrection, when all Ages ſhall be compleated. 'Tis plain, therefore, that there muſt be ſome intermediate Reign of Chriſt between theſe two Periods, and that this is call'd properly ὁ αἰὼν μέλλων, although that Expreſſion, largely taken, may include all the Days of the Meſſiah.

* And the ſame Apoſtle agrees with St. *Peter* in joining the Coming of Chriſt with the Conflagration of the World, 2 *Theſſ.* ii. 7, 8. 2 *Pet.* iii. 10. Compare theſe Arguments with ſome of the like Nature in *Gerard. tom. ult. p.* 139, 140, 141.

Earth, if there were no one to dwell upon it? or why a new habitable World without an Inhabitant? And then the preſent Earth, or the preſent Order of Nature being ſubject to Vanity, or to Corruption, is neither able to bear nor receive the Felicity of that bleſſed Age. Beſides, it would be incongruous to bring Martyrs and Saints back from the Dead to the preſent Life, and to converſe with ſuch Mortals as live now. Let us conſider this in a few Words, if you pleaſe: As for the firſt, it is both proved and granted, eſtabliſh'd and fix'd, *that the natural World will be renew'd*, that is, our Heaven, and our Earth, in a ſtrict and a literal Senſe. 'Tis the clear Voice of the ſacred Scripture, and a Belief that was formerly eſteem'd to be orthodox, as it is likewiſe now. Tell me then, I beſeech you, with what Deſign, or to what End is the Earth to be renew'd? or to what Uſe will be ſubſervient this reviving Paradiſe? 'Tis acknowledg'd by all, that the Earth is to be chang'd for the better; and we have ſhewn by the Authority of ſacred Scripture, to a Form, a Fertility, and a Beauty worthy of Paradiſe, and of divine Workmanſhip. Let us go on then; God and Nature produce nothing in vain, much leſs the intire Orders of Things, and whole habitable Worlds; nor only habitable, but adorn'd and furniſh'd with all the Benefits of Nature, all the Indulgences of Earth and of Heaven;

See Juſt. vel Athor. quæſtion. ad Græc. p. 196.

Theory of the Earth, l. 4. c. 2. & 8.

Heaven; Seats intirely bleſſed and beatifick. But ſince 'tis abſurd to imagine that theſe bleſſed Seats, and this moſt beautiful World, will be produced without any Deſign, tell me once more, I beſeech you, to what Purpoſe, to what End will they be then produced? If you know any more rightful and more noble than that which we have aſſign'd, freely and kindly impart it; but if none more becoming or more noble is to be found, accept of what I have offer'd you, and look upon this future World as the true *Land of the Living*, the true *Canaan*, the *Land of Promiſe*, the Land in which the *Saints ſhall reign*, the Land in which the *Juſt ſhall inhabit*. Laſtly, the Land which the Meek and Innocent *ſhall poſſeſs as their proper Inheritance*; they who have the leaſt Portion of all in the Earth which we now ſee; nor, indeed, is the Whole of ſo much Value, that it is worth the deſiring.

Τὴν δικαιομ. τὴν μέλλ. Pſal. cxli. 6. Rev. v. 10. 2 Pet. iii. 13. Mat. v. 5.

For, ſecondly, the Earth which we now ſee, and the Heaven which is adapted and appropriated to it, can neither afford, nor ſo much as receive that natural Felicity which is appointed for the Saints in the Millennian Kingdom of Chriſt. I ſay, that *natural* Felicity: For beſides the Goods of the Mind, and thoſe holy Affections with which they will be continually raviſh'd, external Nature will be golden all, and nothing will remain of thoſe Calamities which afflict the preſent Life: For neither Poverty, Rev. xxi. 4.

ty, nor Scarcity of the Products of Nature, nor ſervile and illiberal Labour, nor Wars and Diſcords, nor Diſeaſes, nor Cares, nor Troubles, will in the Millennium find any Place. But theſe Incommodities cannot be avoided, as long as Nature remains what ſhe is: They may, indeed, be diminiſh'd by the Aſſiſtance of good Government, and by good Laws; but they cannot be wholly aboliſh'd, unleſs the natural Order of Things at the ſame Time is alter'd: Nor will this Earth become the more fertile the longer is her Duration, but rather the more dry and more barren; and ſo much the greater will be the Want of Things that are neceſſary for Life and Subſiſtance, and ſervile Labour and Miſery will be augmented; nor will Debates and Diſcords, either private or publick, ceaſe, nor Contentions and the Cauſes of Wars. Beſides, if the ſame Face and Temperature of the Heavens remain, we ſhall always endure the ſame Injuries, and the ſame Incommodities from the Air, according to the Viciſſitudes of Times and Seaſons. Laſtly, neither will Diſeaſes be wanting, nor Pains, nor Troubles under which we labour at preſent. But all theſe are foreign from the very Idea of the Kingdom of Chriſt, as 'tis expreſs'd by the Prophets; nor has a State of Life, no more happy than the preſent, the Face of a Reward, and much leſs of a Kingdom.

THIRDLY,

THIRDLY, Cauſe the bleſſed Martyrs, and the other Saints to riſe again from the Dead, and to be converſant among the Mortals of this Age: I cannot ſee what kind of Life, or what kind of Death you will give to thoſe whom you have thus reviv'd. Would you have them die in a ſhort Time, after the Manner of other Mortals, or will you have them live to a thouſand Years? If you ſay the firſt, ſuch a Scrap of Life certainly did not deſerve, that for the ſake of that they ſhould break through the Bars and the friendly Silence of Death; for the ſake, I ſay, of an earthly Life, among Clouds and Darkneſs, the Moleſtations and Incommodities of the preſent Earth and Heavens. I am ſure you believe that the Martyrs were happy in the other World, before their Return or their Deſcent hither; wherefore, or for what Reaſon, ſhould they grow tir'd or cloy'd with their own Felicity?

— *Anne aliquas ad cœlum hinc ire putandum eſt*
Sublimes Animas: iterúmque ad tarda reverti
Corpora? terrenóſque artus, moribundáque membra?
Quæ brevis & miſeræ lucis tam dira cupido eſt?

Nor, on the other Side, will the preſent State of Nature, or a State like to the preſent, admit of Longevity of Life, a Life of a thouſand or of five hundred Years.

BUT

But let us proceed to that which remains: Let the Martyrs and Saints return to this preſent Earth; what kind of Life, while they are converſant among us, will you give to theſe new Inhabitants? Shall they marry, as formerly the Sons of God were enamour'd of the Daughters of Men? Shall they be intent on the Procreation of Children, and the regulating their Lives after the Manner of other Mortals? What Poſſeſſions they can have here I cannot conceive; or what Inheritances they can have Recourſe to; or by what Law they can claim. All Things have been ſeiz'd upon long beforehand upon this Earth, and long beforehand poſſeſs'd. 'Tis not lawful to force from others their Patrimonies, nor can they ſucceed to the Poſſeſſions and Lands of their Anceſtors, who have been dead many Ages ſince, beyond all Memory of Man, and all the Records of written Law; ſo that weighing all the Endowments of the Mind, of the Body and Fortune, I can ſee nothing on any Side worth their while to change the State of Death for that of Life, ſuch as it is at preſent. But enough of this.

These few Things drawn from the ſacred Writings, and from the Nature of the Thing itſelf, we propoſe to be conſider'd by the more modern Millennaries, who, neglecting the Footſteps of the Ancients, make too much Haſte, and by their immoderate Heat bring the Kingdom of Chriſt precipitouſly

precipitously down upon this Earth, and this present Age, by which they draw upon themselves the Displeasure of Princes and other Rulers of the Earth, and render an innocent and harmless Doctrine invidious, and by such a Proceeding retard the very Thing which they chiefly desire to promote. We do not deny but that by the Process of Time Mankind will be reform'd, at least in Part, even in this Life, and that the Affairs of Christianity will be in a better Condition; that the Tyranny of Antichrist will be weaken'd, and some Parts of his Empire torn from him. Besides, the Influence of Piety and of Christian Charity will be augmented among good Men; as likewise the Love of Truth, of Justice, of Equity, and every Virtue. And these Things being well secur'd, People will not plague and persecute each other for their Dissentions. Besides, Science will be augmented, both natural and divine, and particularly the genuine State of the Christian Religion, and the Meaning, the Design, and the Wisdom of that Dispensation will be better known. These, indeed, are Things that are most desir'd; yet still, to compleat the Felicity of the Kingdom of which we treat, there is a Necessity for a Concurrence of external Nature, and for a new Order of Things; as also a more full and more perfect Light of Truth than we are capable of receiving in this present Life. But we must dispatch

what remains to be treated of on this Subject.

THESE Things being thus expounded and determin'd, it remains that we explain the State of the Millennium. It conſiſts of two Parts, Natural and Intellectual: What will be the future Face, and what the Order of Nature in that Age to come, or in the new Heavens and the new Earth, we have ſufficiently declar'd in the foremention'd *Theory*, and are unwilling to repeat here what has been already ſaid upon that Point: And as to the intellectual Part, that conſiſts chiefly in Contemplation and Devotion, in Exerciſes like thoſe in which the Angels with Raptures paſs Eternity; theſe likewiſe we have gone through and deſcrib'd in the ſame Treatiſe, according to our Power. There remains only ſome few Things to be added, to what has been ſaid already, concerning the *extraordinary Preſence of Chriſt in his* Millennian Kingdom, and the *Conſummation of the Chriſtian OEconomy.*

BUT when we mention the Preſence of Chriſt in his Kingdom, we mean not by this, that Chriſt will deſcend upon Earth in a human Shape, and be converſant with Men, as he formerly was in *Judea*, nor that he will lead a terreſtrial Life, as in the Time of his Fleſh; this would be, in ſome meaſure, a ſecond Incarnation; but he will appear a-far off in his glorious Body, by means of a perpetual or conſtant *Shechinah*, as he formerly

formerly appeared to the Sight in the *Sanctum Sanctorum;* and causing his Seat to descend from the Heaven of Heavens, he will reside in View of the Earth, the visible Deity and the august King. But these Things are further to be open'd and explain'd.

AFTER St. *John* had deliver'd the Doctrine of the Millennium, and had represented the new Heavens and the new Earth, as he himself had seen them in his prophetick Vision, he immediately adds, *And I* John *saw the holy City, the* New Jerusalem, *coming down from God out of Heaven, prepared as a Bride adorned for her Husband. And I heard a great Voice out of Heaven, saying, Behold, the Tabernacle of God is with Men, and he will dwell with them, and they shall be his People; and God himself shall be with them, and be their God:* Ἰδὲ ἡ σκηνὴ τοῦ Θεοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ σκηνώσει μεθ' αὐτῶν, καὶ αὐτοὶ, *&c.* Rev. xxi. 2, 3. These very Words, and the Use of these Words in the sacred Writings, are enough to convince any one that this is to be understood of the *Shechinah. Behold the Tabernacle of God is with Men,* says the Voice from Heaven, that is, such a Presence or Habitation of God as there was in the Tabernacle, where the *Shechinah* shew'd its Refulgency. And then he adds, to the same Purpose, σκηνώσει μεθ' αὐτῶν ὁ Θεός, *God will place his Tabernacle among them.* Lastly, that it may be the more manifest that the

Habitation of God with the Saints in his Millennian Kingdom, as he dwelt formerly with the People of *Israel* in the Sanctuary, is pointed at here, the Prophet adds, Καὶ αὐτοὶ λαοὶ αὐτῦ ἔσονται, καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Θεὸς ἔσται μεθ' αὐτῶν, Θεὸς αὐτῶν· which are the same Words, if you please to consult them, with which God promis'd that he would dwell with the *Israelites* in the Congregation and in the Sanctuary, *Exod.* xxix. 42, 43, 44, 45, 46. *Lev.* xxvi. 11, 12.

Besides, St. *John* us'd the same Manner of speaking in his Gospel, when he had a mind to paint the Habitation of God in human Flesh, *John* i. 14. Ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν, καὶ ἐθεασάμεθα τὴν δόξαν αὐτῦ, δόξαν ὡς μονογενῦς παρὰ Πατρός, *The Word was made Flesh, and dwelt among us, and we beheld his Glory, the Glory as of the Only-begotten of his Father.* We meet with the same Expression once more in the *Revelations*, when the Felicity and the Privileges are enumerated of the Palm-bearing Multitude, who are the same with the Saints of the Millennium: For, among other Things, it is said, Ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῦ θρόνε, *he that sits upon the Throne*, that is, Christ, σκηνώσει ἐπ' αὐτές, that is, *shall dwell among them*, or shall fix his Tabernacle among them, which answers fully to our Explication of the *Schechinah* in the Kingdom of Christ. And in the same Manner *Ezekiel*, setting forth the Beatitude of the

Rev. vii. 15, 16, 17.

C. xxxvii. 26, 27, 28.

the Kingdom of which we ſpeak, places in it the Sanctuary, or the Seat of God as in the Sanctuary. I will add one Paſſage more to all theſe, from the ſame prophetick Oracles; where the Prophet treats of the Millennium, and where, at the ſame Time, Mention is made of the Temple's being open, and the Ark of the Covenant being ſeen in it, which *Shechinah* cover'd with its Effulgency. In the eleventh Chapter, after that the Trumpet of the ſeventh Angel had ſounded, the Kingdom of Chriſt and the Saints is deſcrib'd: And 'tis ſaid, among other Things, *the Temple of God was open'd in the Heavens, and there was ſeen in his Temple the Ark of his Teſtament;* that is, if I rightly interpret it, the Heavens being open'd, *Schechinah* was ſeen, or the Glory of Chriſt, which cover'd the Ark of the Covenant in the Sanctuary; as *Stephen*, the firſt of Martyrs, the Heavens being open'd, ſaw the Glory of God, and the Son of Man at the Right Hand of God. And hither is to be referr'd, if I am not miſtaken, the celebrated Prediction of *Jeremiah* the Prophet, Chap. iii. 16, 17, *&c.* when the *New Jeruſa-* and not the Ark of the Covenant, ſhall be the Throne of *Jehovah.*

Ver. 15. Ver. 19. Acts vii. 55, 56.

By theſe prophetick Evidences and Diſcoveries, 'tis, in my Opinion, ſufficiently manifeſt, that in the Age to come, and in the Kingdom of Chriſt, there will be ſome viſible and ſolemn Preſence of the Deity,

which we nominate *Schechinah*. But we muſt further obſerve, that what the *Hebrews* call *Schechinah* is call'd in the *Greek*, as well that of the New Teſtament, as that of the Seventy, δόξα, *Glory*, or δόξα τοῦ Θεοῦ, *the Glory of God*, as is ſufficiently known, and has been prov'd by divers Examples.* And the ſame Expreſſion St. *John* uſes, and ſays, that he ſaw the Glory of God, τὴν δοξαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, reſiding on that holy *Jeruſalem* which deſcended from Heaven, Ver. 10, & 11. The Angel ſhew'd him τὴν ἁγίαν Ἱερουσαλὴμ καταβαίνουσαν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἔχουσαν τὴν ΔΟΞΑΝ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ. And then, in what follows, he illuſtrates this City, and paints it with all the moſt glorious, and the moſt refulgent Colours of Light. And he eloquently aſſerts, that they who enjoy the Millennium ſhall behold the Face of God.

Compare *John* xvii. 24. with this. Chap. xxii. 4.

Thus you ſee the Prophet ſignified, in a two-fold Manner and Style, that there would be ſeen hereafter in the *New Jeruſalem*, in the Kingdom of Chriſt and his Saints, the divine Shechinah. But perhaps, you will ask me what the Schechinah is, when both here and in other Writers, there is ſuch frequent Mention of it, who yet, through their own Neglect, or the Difficulty of the Thing, do

* See *Exod.* xxiv. 16, 17. and xxxiii. 18. and xl. 34, 35. 1 *Kings* viii. 11. 1 *Sam.* iv. 21, 22. *Iſa.* vi. *Habback.* iii. 3, 4. *Joh.* i. 14. and xii. 47, 55. *Heb.* ix. 5. *Rom.* iv. 4.

do not clearly explain what is meant by the Word. Nor indeed do I undertake to do it here, or pretend to define it more accurately than others have done before me. But if Pardon and Place may be allow'd for a little Digreſſion, I ſhall open the State of the Queſtion, that it may be leſs difficult to others either to quite clear up the Point, or at leaſt to find where the Difficulty lies.

THE Word שכינה is not, as far as I know, to be found in the *Hebrew* Bible. We meet with it often in the *Targum*, and in the Writings of the Rabbins. 'Tis deriv'd, as is very well known, from שכן, *to dwell*, or *to ſojourn*, and ſignifies, in the common Acceptation, *to dwell*, or *to ſojourn*. But that it came to be made uſe of to ſignify peculiarly the divine Preſence, or the divine Majeſty, proceeded from the Uſe of the ſame Word שכן, in the Writings of *Moſes*, when the ſingular Preſence of God is expreſs'd either in Mount *Sinai*, or in the Tabernacle, or any other Place, *Exod.* xxiv. 15, 16. and Chap. xxv. 8. and Chap. xxix. 45, 46. and Chap. xl. 35. and *Deut.* xxxiii. 16.

So much for the Word; but what is the Thing, you ask: *Schechinah*, in a larger Extent, is us'd to ſignify any remarkable Effect of the divine Preſence; but in a more confin'd Signification, 'tis us'd to expreſs the divine Preſence under ſome Appearance or viſible Sign; and in the ſtricteſt Senſe of all, to ſignify the majeſtick Preſence of God, in

ſome reſplendent, fiery, or flaming Matter, as in the fiery Buſh he appeared to *Moſes*, (*Exod.* iii. 2. *Deut.* xxxiii. 16.) and to the *Iſraelites* in the Wilderneſs in the Pillar of Fire, or the cloudy Pillar, (*Exod.* xiii. 21, 22. *Num.* xiv. 14.) Upon Mount *Sinai*, (*Exod.* xix. 18. and xxiv. 15, 16, 17, *&c.* xxxiii. 18, 21. and *Deut.* xxxiii. 2.) Before the Tabernacle, *Exod.* xxv. 8. and xl. 34, 35. *Lev.* xvi. 2. *Num.* ix. 15. and in the *Sanctum Sanctorum* after the Temple was built, 1 *Kings* viii. 10, 11. 2 *Chron.* vii.

And 'tis ſuch a majeſtick *Schechinah*,* that we here underſtand, and that we expect in that Age to come. And it conſiſts, as you ſee, of two Parts, the material and the ſpiritual. The firſt is wont to be in ſome Meaſure lucid, or of a Colour whitiſh; as the Light itſelf, Fire, Æther, Cloud, or whitiſh Smoak. And this † lucid Subſtance is believed by *Abarbinele*, to be always one and the ſame, that is to ſay, that very primogenial Light which God created in the Beginning, that very Light he uſes as a Vehicle, whenever he would render himſelf conſpicuous. But however that is, the principal Query is concerning the other Part, *viz.* what that ſpiritual Subſtance is, that lies under that ſubtle and refulgent Matter. That beſt and

* See a Paſſage about the *Schechina* in *Whitby de Deit. Chriſt.* p. 57.

† The Biſhop of *Ely* takes Notice of this, p. 9.

and moſt learned Man, *Joſeph Mede*, is of Opinion, that the Angels were always under the *Schechinah*; and that there was no other Preſence or divine Epiphany, but the Angelical only, under the Name of God; that otherwiſe God himſelf is ſaid to be every where equally preſent; but that he is ſaid to be eſpecially preſent where the Angelick Guard appears. I can verily believe that an Angelick Guard is not wanting to the *Schechina*, but a Guard, over which ſome very illuſtrious Commander of ſurpaſſing Brightneſs preſides. Tract. de Sanctit. Eccleſ.

JUSTIN MARTYR*, *Irenæus*†, *Tertullian*‡, and ſeveral other Fathers were of Opinion,

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*In Apolog. 2. p. 95, 96. and in *Dialog. cum Tryphon.* p. 341, 342. and p. 356, 357. and frequently in other Places.

† Lib. iv. c. 17, 23, 37.

‡ *Adverſ. Judæos*, c. 9. *de Carne Chriſti*, c. 6. *Adverſ. Marcion.* l. ii. c. 27. and *ad Praxeam.* c. 14. and following. *Theoph. Antioch.* p. 99, 100. *Euſeb. Demonſt. Evang.* l. v. c. 9. and following, where he treats of it very largely; and *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* l. i. c. 2. *Cyril. Hieroſ. Catech.* c. 10. Beſides theſe, you may conſult *Novatian de Trin.* c. 25. and following. *Origen*, l. vi. *cont. Celſ.* *Baſil adverſ. Eunom. Chryſoſt. in Gen. Hom.* 41, 42, 48. and in *Act. Hom.* 16. *Theodore in Gen. Quæſt.* 92. *in Exod. quæſt.* 5. *Hilar. de Trinit.* 4, 5, 12. *Ambroſ. de Fide ad Gratian.* l. i. c. 5. and *de Fide contra Arian.* c. *ult. Prudent. in Apotheoſi contra Patripaſſ. Sulp. Sever. Hiſt. Sacr.* l. i. *Caſſian.* l. vii. *de incarn.* c. 9. *Leon. Epiſt.* 13. *Iſidor. Hiſpal. de Nativ. Dom.* c. i. and many others. Clemen. Alexandr. very often Protrep. p. 6. Pædag. p. iii.

In *Cortholt. Not. in Juſt.* p. 34. and in *Suicer. voc.* ἄγγελος, and in *Bull.* Sec. i. c. 1.

τὸν λόγον, that the Word was under the *Schechinah*, in all the * Appearances that are mentioned in the ancient Covenant. The *Jews* in general, and of the Christian Fathers some, are of Opinion, that the Soul of the Messiah pre-existed long before the Time of his Incarnation, nay, before the very Original of the *Jewish* Nation, before the Law, nay, and existed through the whole Dispensation of the Law and the Prophets. Now, if they suppose that his Soul through the whole Series of that Time, was in Conjunction with the Word, it would not be inconsistent to suppose farther, that in Conjunction with the same Word, it constituted the *Schechinah* of the Patriarchs and the Prophets, and that those Motions from Heaven to Earth, and those Returns from Earth to Heaven, and those Apparitions sometimes in a human Shape, and sometimes in another, are to be attributed to the Messiah; and that neither these, nor any Thing like them, is consistent with meer Divinity.

For otherwise, I can hardly understand either *Justin Martyr* †, or any of the forementioned

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* This is deny'd by *August. contra Maximin.* l. iii. c. 26. as cited by *Pamel. in Tertul. adversus Jud.* c. 9. p. 194. See likewise *August. de Trin.* l. iii. c. 9. & c. 11.

† *Justin Martyr* in his *Dial. cum Tryphon.* often disputes against all local Motion, or Apparition, or Visibility of God the Father; and *p.* 355, 356. he says, that when the Scripture tells us that God ascended up from *Abraham*,

tion'd Fathers, who pretend to prove by the Inviſibility of God the Father, and his Infinity and Omnipreſence, that God the Father never appeared, never aſcended or deſcended, and never in anywiſe chang'd his Place. I ſay, I cannot ſee how theſe Arguments, drawn from the Inviſibility, and the Omnipreſence of God, are of more Validity for God the Father, than for God the Son; unleſs you ſuppoſe the Soul of the Meſſiah to have pre-exiſted, and to have been united to the Word before his Incarnation; and that all theſe Things were performed by that together with the Angels: For otherwiſe ὁ λόγος, the

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Abraham, or, that the Lord talked with *Moſes*, that the Lord deſcended to ſee the Tower which the Sons of Men built, or when it ſays, that God ſhut up the Ark of *Noah*, μὴ ὑγεῖσθε ἀυτὸν τὸν ἀγέννετον Θεὸν καταβεβηκέναι, &c. you muſt not think that the unbegotten God either aſcended or deſcended any whither; for the ineffable Father, and Lord of the Univerſe, does not move into any Place, nor does he walk about; he does not ſleep, nor ariſe from Sleep. ——— He is not moveable, nor to be comprehended by any one Place, no, not by the World itſelf; as he exiſted before the World was built. How then can he ſpeak to any one, or be ſeen by any one, or appear in the leaſt Part of the Earth? You have Paſſages like this in the other Fathers above mention'd.

In the ſame Manner as the Son returned to the Father out of this World, ſo he proceeded from the Father: But his Return was local, and * * * his Aſcenſion from this Earth into Heaven was local. *John* xiii. 1. and vi. 63. and xvi. 28. The Perſon of Chriſt aſcended, and therefore the Perſon of Chriſt deſcended. Either his Deſcent and Aſcent were real and local, or only Apparitions, ſometimes in Heaven, and ſometimes on Earth.

the Word ſimply taken, and united to no Creature human or angelical, is inviſible and omnipreſent as much as God the Father.*

But that we may return to our Subject. Let this be as it will, with regard to the Phænomena of the Old Teſtament, before the Incarnation of God, (of which, perhaps, we ſhall find Occaſion to treat in another Place,) the *Schechinah*, of which we are ſpeaking here, which will ſhine forth in that Age to come in the Kingdom of Chriſt and his Saints, is Chriſt himſelf in his glorious Body, which is ſpoke openly enough by the Prophet, *Rev.* xxi. 23. *And the City had no Need of the Sun, neither of the Moon to ſhine in it: For the Glory of God did lighten it, and the Lamb is the Light thereof.* Chriſt gave a Specimen of this Glory upon Earth, while he was yet cloathed in Fleſh, in his Transfiguration; and afterwards in Heaven, when he ſhew'd himſelf to St. *Stephen* and *Saul*. But that Appearance, that *Schechinah*, will be the moſt illuſtrious, when Chriſt ſhall deſcend in Flames of Fire, attended with Millions of Angels, at the End and Deſtruction of this World: And the Word *Glory*, or the *Glory of God*, is wont almoſt always to be join'd together with the Coming of Chriſt, which we obſerved

Luke ix. 32.

* Nor is the Anſwer of *Bull* ſufficient here; ſee it, *Sec.* iv. c. 3. p. 462, &c.

ſerved above, anſwers to *Schechinah*,* and the Majeſtick Preſence of God. And St. *John* has in more than one Manner declared to us, that this Glory, and this divine Preſence, will have its Seat in the new Heavens and the new Earth, as we obſerved before.

BUT let us obſerve further, that the ſacred Writers, in repreſenting the Kingly Glory and the Majeſty of Chriſt, firſt ſet before us his Perſon; then his Attendance, or his Guards; then his Seat and the Royal City; and laſtly, the Throne of the Prince. The Glory of Chriſt's Preſence is more than once deſcrib'd in the Revelations, and always in a lucid or flaming Form, Chap. i. ver. 13, *&c.* The Prophet ſpeaking of the Son of Man, ſays, *His Head and his Hair were white like Wool, as white as Snow; and his Eyes were as a Flame of Fire; and his Feet like unto fine Braſs, as if they burned in a Furnace; and his Voice as the Sound of many Waters; and his Countenance was as the Sun, when he ſhineth in all his Strength.* What can be ſtronger than theſe, what more bright or illuſtrious? unleſs, perhaps, that Deſcription which follows in the fourth Chapter, where the King, ſitting upon Ver. 3. his

* *Schechinah* relates neither to the Father, nor to the Holy Ghoſt; therefore it muſt to the Son, or λόγος; ſince it implies in it ſomething divine, and not meerly Angelical. See *Grot. de Relig. Chriſt.* l. v. p. 369. Sect. iii.

his Throne, *was to look upon like a Jasper, and a Sardine Stone; and there was a Rainbow round about the Throne in Sight like to an Emerald.* Then, as to the Attendance of Christ, it will consist of Angels of Light; as is abundantly expressed in the sacred Writings, which we quoted before: Then, as to what regards the Royal City, the City of the great King, the holy *Jerusalem*, that descended from Heaven, every one knows that its Glory is painted by the Prophet in the twenty-first Chapter, by every Sort of Glittering Jewels, and the most refulgent Colours of Light, *Ver.* 10, 11. then *Ver.* 18, 19, 20, 21. Yet no Man ever here understood simply and literally the Stones themselves, whose Names the Prophet enumerates; yet it seems but just that it should be something visible and illustrious that is painted by these shining Jewels: He who paints the Rainbow in Drops of Water, and upon the rising or setting Sun adorns the Clouds with so much Beauty, and with so many Colours, how much is it in his Power, and how easy for him, to excite and express in his own Ætherial Body, or the adjacent Heaven, all the various Sorts of Light, and all the diversify'd Glory, above all the Splendor and the borrow'd Lights of Jewels of any Kind, or any other terrestrial Matter, be it ever so purged and fine?

Nor does it seem to me to be at all new, or foreign from the Use of the sacred Writers, to

to paint *Schechinah* by the Imagery of Jewels. The Breaſt-Plate of the High-Prieſt, where was *Urim* and *Thummim*, and Anſwers divine, was compoſed by the Command of God himſelf, of ſeveral Kinds and Orders of Jewels, *Exod.* xxviii. 15, 16, *&c.* And when God appeared upon Mount *Sinai*, he is ſaid to have ſtood upon a Pavement of Sapphir, ſurrounded with celeſtial Brightneſs, *Exod.* xxiv. 10. To theſe you may add, if you pleaſe, that when the future Glory of the Church is deſcrib'd by the Prophet *Iſaiah*, (Chap. liv. 11, 12.) and Paradiſe by *Ezekiel* (Chap. xxviii. 13.) the Repreſentation in both Places is made by Jewels and precious Stones, as in this Idea of St. *John* in his *Revelations*.

But to proceed: Though by theſe Proofs and Examples it is more than probable, that *Schechinah* belongs to the Millennian State, and to the holy City, yet is it difficult to to go through the other Things which relate to it, or to form any Hypotheſis, in which ſo many and ſuch different Qualities and Characters may meet and concur, as are to be found in the two laſt Chapters of this wonderful Propheſy. And this likewiſe augments the Difficulty, which, and how many of theſe Characters are to be interpreted literally, and which figuratively and comparatively. 'Tis the common Opinion, that the Chriſtian Church is repreſented triumphant in

in the Idea of this glorious City.* And that principally for this Reaſon; becauſe the Names of the twelve Apoſtles are ſaid to be inſcrib'd upon its Foundation, *Ver.* 14. and upon its Gates the Names of the twelve Tribes of *Iſrael*, *Ver.* 12. By which Title and Name, the true People of God is wont to be deſcrib'd in the *Revelations*. Laſtly, this City is elegantly called by the Angel, *Sponſa Agni*, *the Bride of the Lamb*, Ver. 9. & 10.

But when they aſſert that the Church Triumphant is here repreſented, my Opinion is, that we ought to underſtand the Church Triumphant upon Earth, or in the new Heavens and the new Earth, which the Prophet ſaw but a little before. And he ſaw likewiſe this Holy City deſcending from Heaven, *Ver.* 2, & 10. that is, a City conſiſting of thoſe Saints who were raiſed up upon the firſt Reſurrection. Nor is there, ſtrictly and properly ſpeaking, any Triumphant Church in the Heavens, either before or after the Reſurrection. Before the Reſurrection, we have no Evidence that the Saints are in a viſible State, or a Society viſible: But that their Souls are repoſited with God, and that they live alone to him. But after the Reſurrection,

Chap. xxi.

* The Prophet *David* likewiſe ſeems to have an Eye to this future State, in *Pſal.* xvii. 15. See D. *Ten.* p. 366.

tion, I mean the universal Resurrection, when Christ shall have deliver'd his Kingdom into the Hands of his Father, there will be no farther any Form or Face of a Church, but God will be all in all. Nor is it any just Objection to this Opinion, That that City is called the celestial or the upper *Jerusalem;* for so it is called, because it will descend from Heaven, or will come from above, Christ descending together with it, as the Prophet more than once declares; and that it will consist of those who have their share in the first Resurrection. Rev. iii. 12; xxi. 2, & 10. xii. 22 *&c.*

THAT illustrious Society, which is describ'd by St. *Paul* in his Epistle to the *Hebrews*, though it suits something better with the Christian Dispensation, than with that of the Law; yet can it be justly and properly apply'd to no Militant Church: For when it is called by him *the City of God*, and *the celestial* Jerusalem, we must necessarily conclude it to be the same with that which is mention'd and describ'd by St. *John*, though some Things of another Order, according to the Manner of that Author, seem to be mingled with it. Certainly they who have their Part in the first Resurrection, constitute πανήγυριν καὶ ἐκκλησίαν πρωτοτόκων ἐν οὐρανοῖς ἀπογεγραμμένων, *the Church and the Congregation of the First-born of those whose Names are writ in Heaven:* And though they are not yet δίκαιοι τετελειωμένοι, *perfectly just* in every Sense and Manner; yet are they

initiated into celeſtial Life, the Candidates of Eternity, and the very next Heirs to Heaven and conſummate Glory.*

AND

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* *A Digreſſion concerning the State of the* Jews *in the* Millennium, *or the future Kingdom of the Meſſiah.*

And here occurrs a celebrated Queſtion, What Place the *Jews* will have in the Kingdom of the Meſſiah? It muſt be own'd that the Promiſes were firſt made to the *Jews*, as well of the Meſſiah, as of the Meſſiah's Kingdom; and that their *Canaan*, or Land of Promiſe, was a Type of the new Land, and of the Kingdom of Chriſt himſelf. And St. *Paul* has told us, that the Seed of *Abraham* ſhould be the Heirs of the World, *viz.* of the World to come; for they are not ſo of the preſent. Beſides, as Chriſt was upon coming into the World, the Angel ſays to *Mary*, *The Lord God ſhall give unto him the Throne of his Father* David. *And he ſhall reign over the Houſe of* Jacob *for ever*, *and of his Kingdom there ſhall be no End*, Luke i. 32, 33. But this Kingdom at preſent is not in his, but in Mahomet's Poſſeſſion. Add to this, that the Prophets over and over promiſe the *Jews* a Reſtauration; not only from the *Babyloniſh* Captivity, but a new Glory, and a happy Eſtate, ſuch as they had never enjoy'd before. Conſult * * *

Rom. iv. 13. Heb. xi. 10. See Philo. Quis hæres ſit mundi. & Dan. vii. 41. Mic. iv. 7. Rev. iii. 21.

The Prophet *Iſaiah* too deſcribes a new Earth and new Heavens, in which they were to enjoy all this Happineſs. And other Prophets, under different Characters, have marked out this ſame State.

Chap. lxv. 17, &c. & lxvi. 22.

And laſtly, St. *John* in his *Revelations*, always mentions the *Jews*, either plainly or indirectly, whenever he is deſcribing the Kingdom of Chriſt, or his future Glory. From their Converſion he begins his Prophecy; *Behold he cometh with the Clouds*, *and every Eye ſhall ſee him*, *and they alſo which pierced him*; *and all Kingdoms of the Earth ſhall wail before him.* Then, when the Throne of Chriſt is deſcrib'd, Chap. iv. 4. and the four and twenty Elders ſtanding, the *Jews* are join'd there with the Chriſtians, *i. e.* twelve Apoſtles with twelve Patriarchs,

Chap. i. 7.

AND from hence we are brought to what we believed ought in the second Place to be observed concerning the Kingdom of Christ and his Saints, *viz.* That in that Kingdom, there will be, with regard to this Earth, *a Consummation of the Christian Religion*, and of divine Providence. The Christian Religion, indeed, will remain in the new Heavens and the new Earth, under Christ its Head; but

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Patriarchs, or Heads of Tribes, of the *Jews*. As afterwards, the Foundation of the new *Jerusalem* are the holy Apostles, but on the Gates are wrote the Names of the twelve Tribes of *Israel*. Likewise in the eighth Chapter when the Servants of God are sign'd, the Tribes of *Israel* are sign'd first, and afterwards an innumerable Multitude of all Nations, Tribes, People, and Languages; and in Chap. xiv. 1. those 144000 are number'd again standing in Mount *Sion* with the Lamb. Chap. xxi. 12, & 14.

Add to this, when at the seventh Trumpet the Kingdom of Christ was come, the four and twenty Elders worship before him that sits upon the Throne, and say, *That the Time of the Dead is come, that they should be judged, and that thou shouldst give Reward unto thy Servants the Prophets, and to the Saints, and them that fear thy Name, small and great; and shouldst destroy them which destroy the Earth.* Then the Temple of God was open'd in Heaven, *and there was seen in the Temple the Ark of his Testament.* The Ark of the Testament is the Monument of the Covenant entered into with *Abraham* and the *Jews*, which God had promised he would remember for ever, as an everlasting Covenant, that was to endure for ever. And that by this Token Christ testifies that he did not forget his Covenant and ancient People, but that he would bring them with him to be Partakers of his Kingdom, * * * * * * * * * * Not unlike to this, in the fifteenth Chapter, before the Phials of his Wrath were poured out, when the Saints Chap. xi. 15, &c.

but exceedingly alter'd, as well with regard to external Worſhip, as the Sanctity of the Souls of its Subjects. And that which ought to out-ſhine either, there will be a more clear, a more full, and a more diſtinct Revelation of the Truth, than what we enjoy in this preſent Life. Religion together with Mankind makes a gradual Progreſs to Purity and Perfection, and the Religion *of Nature* is the Founda-

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had ſung the Song of *Moſes*, and the Song of the Lamb, the Temple of the Tabernacle of Teſtimony was open'd in Heaven, to ſignify the divine Preſence, as formerly at the going out of *Egypt*, and afterwards in the Tabernacle, where the Tables of the Law were kept; and ſo the *Jews* fall in with Chriſtians, and both make up one Church.

Again, in the laſt Chapters of this Prophecy we find many Paſſages in Favour of the *Jews*. In the eighteenth Chapter, Ver. 20. the Apoſtles are join'd with the Prophets triumphing with the Lamb over the Beaſt, and praiſing God: And in the ſeventh Verſe of the following Chapter a Bride is prepared for the Lamb, cloath'd with the Righteouſneſs of the Saints. I am not ignorant that this Wife of the Lamb's is held by ſome to be the Chriſtian Church only, ſeparate from the *Jewiſh*, when in *Conſtantine*'s Time the *Roman* Empire became Chriſtian. But this is the Opinion of thoſe * * * * who do not expect or believe any Thing of the Converſion of the *Jews*; an Opinion contrary to the expreſs Words of Chriſt and St. *Paul*, and of many of the Prophets; contrary to the Deſign and Tenour of the *Apocalypſe*, which terminates in the Union of the *Jewiſh* and Chriſtian Churches in the Kingdom Chriſt; that Chriſt may be the Shepherd of both Flocks, King of both People; that the *Gentiles* and *Jews* may be collected under one Head, united into one Body.

Luke xxi. 24. Rom. xi.

Laſtly,

Foundation of every Religion that is inſtituted, from which all particular Diſpenſations that are by divine Appointment, have their Source, and to which they flow back and return again, as Rivers do into the Sea.

Divine Providence ſeems to have inſtituted three particular religious OEconomies for the governing and perfecting Mankind: The firſt of which was an OEconomy of Senſe, and

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Laſtly, when this earthly Diſpenſation arrives to its Perfection, when all Things ſhall be reſtor'd, and Nature renew'd, new Heavens and a new Earth, the new *Jeruſalem* ſhall deſcend from Heaven, deck'd and prepared as a Bride for her Husband, Chap. xxi. 2. This is the ſame Bride as was mentioned before; and when 'tis called the *New Jeruſalem*, the *Holy City*, it puts us in mind of the *Jews*, and of the old *Jeruſalem*, their Habitation. Although what follows in this and the laſt Chapter is repreſented to us under the ſame Name and Manner of Speaking, yet we muſt not deny this People their Share in it. * * * * There can be no Diſpute as to Precedency; nor ſhould we be too poſitive in applying that which follows, however it may ſeem to belong to that People; for it is too obſcure. From what is ſaid I think it appears ſufficiently plain, that all, both *Jews* and *Gentiles*, will be collected into one Body under Chriſt the Head, when his glorious univerſal Kingdom ſhall appear compleat upon Earth.

This at leaſt we may obſerve, that thoſe Things that are ſpoken of the Tabernacle of God, or the Habitation of God among Men, were formerly promiſed to the *Jews*, almoſt in the very ſame Terms. See *Ezech.* xxxvii. 26, 27, 28. *Zeph.* ii. 10. *Iſa.* xii. 6. When therefore we read in the Writings of a Chriſtian Prophet, that theſe Promiſes are now accompliſhed, can we with any Co-

and of external Works, with but a ſhort-ſighted Knowledge of Things divine. The ſecond was an OEconomy of Affections, inſtituted for an internal Life, and if I may ſo expreſs myſelf, for a ſacred Enthuſiaſm, with a much greater Light and Knowledge of Things divine, yet a Light and a Knowledge imperfect and incompleat. The Third, in the Millennian Kingdom of Chriſt, will com-

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lour of Juſtice deprive thoſe of a Share in ſuch Glories, to whom they were firſt of all directed?

The Time of this Reſtauration of the *Jews* will be at the Sabbatiſm, at their Reſurrection from the Dead, and ſo, after the Renovation of the Heavens and the Earth; or in the Millennial Reign of Chriſt, in the World to come. And therefore 'tis foretold and ſpoken of by the Prophets as a Reſurrection, *Iſa.* xxvi. 19, 20, 21. *Ezek.* xxxvii. 12. *Hoſ.* xiii. 14. * * * *Rom.* xi. 26, 27, *&c.* * * * * 1 *Cor.* xv. 54. and that of *Daniel* xii. 1, 2. regards the *Jews* in a ſpecial Manner; and *Michael*, the great Prince, is Chriſt. * * *

The *Jews* by their Sins, and the Abuſe of their Law, have, by the juſt Judgments of God, made Way for the Chriſtians; and Chriſtians by their Vices, and the Abuſe of their Law, ſhall in their Turn give Place again to the *Jews*. Having alternately abuſed the Goodneſs of God, and alternately * * * * * ſhall ſucceed each other.

After theſe Remarks, it will be thought highly juſt, that the *Jews* ſhould have no ſmall Share in the Millennian Kingdom of Chriſt. But perhaps there may be two or three Objections made to this Opinion. Firſt, that the Millennium ſeems to be calculated entirely for Chriſtians, or thoſe *that were beheaded for the Witneſs of Jeſus, and for the Word of God, and which have not worſhip'd the Beaſt, neither his Image, neither receiv'd*, &c. *and they ſhall live with Chriſt a thouſand Years.* Then it is ſaid, that in the holy *Jeruſalem* to come, *there ſhall be*

Revel. xx. 4.

comprehend all the three, and will be an OEconomy of Senſe, of Affection, and of Reaſon, with as clear, and as full a Knowledge and Inſight into Things divine, as can be had on this ſide Heaven. Rites, and Ceremonies, and the Shadows of Things will vaniſh: Virtue, pure Virtue, and Truth divine, will, like the liquid Light, o'erflow the whole Globe of Earth. Chriſt ſaid to the *Jews*,

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no Temple therein, *Rev.* xxi. 22. which points out the *Jewiſh* Worſhip. To the firſt I anſwer, that the *Jews* are no where excluded from this Millennium, any more than Chriſtians. For the Paſſages quoted above, ſpeak plainly, that the former ought to have a Place there, and that none of the loweſt. But as the Series of St. *John*'s Prophecies run moſtly upon the Reign of Antichriſt, and his Fall, it was natural when that was compleated, to make Mention chiefly of the Triumph of Chriſtians upon it, as it was they that oppoſed his Kingdom, and are placed all along in the Prophecy as his Adverſaries; when the Enemy is defeated, they receive the Honours of the Victory, who perſonally ſuſtain'd the Battle, altho' others ſhare with them the Fruits and Advantages of it.

To the ſecond I anſwer, That 'tis truly ſaid there will be no Temple in the future Kingdom of Chriſt, nor any external *Judaical* Worſhip. For we ſuppoſe that at that Time all Rites, as well Chriſtian as *Jewiſh*, will be aboliſhed: All and every one of both Denominations ſhall acknowledge Jeſus for the Meſſiah, and ſhall alſo worſhip God with a pure Heart, and a pure Mind, according to that which is moſt holy, univerſal, and perpetual in both Laws. Nor ſhall bloody Sacrifices of any Kind have place there, but Sacrifices only of Praiſe and Thankſgiving; nor ſhall Circumciſion or Uncircumciſion avail any Thing, but a new Creature, rectify'd according to the Image of God.

Jews, (*Luke* vii. 28.) *Among thoſe that are born of Women, there is not a greater Prophet than* John *the Baptiſt; but he that is leaſt in the Kingdom of Heaven, is greater than he, viz.* with regard to the Extent of their Science, to their Knowledge of Things divine, and to their worſhipping their God in Spirit and in Truth. O Days deſerving to be eternally celebrated! O truly Golden

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So that notwithſtanding theſe Objections, we muſt allow the *Iſraelites* their Share in the future *Canaan*, their Reſtauration, and promiſed Reſt. For ſo it is that the Apoſtle to the *Hebrews* argues, that *there ſtill remaineth a Sabbath for the People of God:* By which Title he particularly marks out the *Iſraelites*, a People belonging to God in a peculiar Manner, and in Covenant with him. Now this Sabbath, although it may in ſome Reſpects be apply'd to the Goſpel State, yet the *Jews*, we ſee, are not come to the Enjoyment of that Reſt; and ſince this Sabbath ought to be the Antitype correſponding to thoſe Types of it, the Septennial Sabbaths of the Land of *Canaan*, the *Jews* may reaſonably expect another more glorious Sabbatical Reſt, another happier *Canaan*; that ſo the Antitype may more exactly anſwer to its proper Type.

It muſt be acknowledg'd that the Apocalypſe does chiefly run upon the Millennium, and regards the *Jews* above all others, as though the Millennium belong'd to them ſolely. 'Tis true, it does in a great Meaſure belong to them, but not to them alone, as is plain from *Revel.* vii. 9. and xx. 4.

But that many Places, and indeed the main End and Deſign of that Prophecy, reſpects the *Jews*, is apparent enough to any Reader. See likewiſe *Holmes*, Vol. ii. p. 125, & 126, *&c.* * * * * *

Chriſt is the Creator of both Worlds, the old, and the new one that is to be. He is ſaid to be the Creator of

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Golden Ages! O truly blisful Life! Let this thy Kingdom come, O Lord; and as thy Will is done in Heaven, let it be done on Earth. Thou gavest thy Promise that thou wouldest come quickly, and wouldst renew all Things: Why does our God stay? what hinders the Motion of thy Chariot? what stops the Course of its Wheels? *Let all thy Enemies perish, O Lord; but let those who love thee, be like the Sun, when he mounts the Skies, in all his Strength, and in all his Glory.* Revel. xxi. xxii. Judges v. 31.

THUS have we with Brevity treated of the State of the Millennium. They who desire to see the Rest that relates to it, may find it in the forementioned Theory. At the End of this Millennium there will follow the last Judgment and the second Resurrection; and then comes the Consummation of all Things. I must confess there is no Mention made in the sacred Writings expressly and

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the old World in many Places, *Psal.* cii. *Job.* i. 3, 10. *Col.* i. 17. *Heb.* i. 10.

As to the World that is to be, the Messiah is called, πατὴρ τοῦ ἀιῶνος μέλλοντος, *the Father of the World to come*, *Isa.* ix. 6. From whence the Author to the *Hebrews*, *Chap.* ii. 5. says, that the οἰκουμένην τὴν μέλλουσαν, *the World to come*, is in a peculiar Manner subject to him. The *Jews* call it עולם הבא, which regards the World, as well the natural as moral. It is worth enquiring whether they make the Messiah the Author of this likewise.

I do not remember that the Messiah is any where in Scripture said to be the Author of the new Heaven, and the new Earth. * * * *

and nominally, either of a second Resurrection, or a second Judgment. But each of them is hinted at and implied in that Vision of St. *John*, which gives us a View of the Millennium; that one will be at the Beginning, and the other at the End of it. And as for the Resurrection, in other Places of the sacred Writings, sometimes Regard is had to the first, and sometimes to the second, without distinguishing accurately. St. *Paul* in his Epistle to the *Corinthians* treats chiefly, if not solely, of the last Resurrection, as was before observed: But Christ in St. *Luke* seems to point at the first, which he calls, *The Resurrection of the Just*, not of all, but of the Just separately: Such as is the first Resurrection, in which the Wicked are to have no Part, (*Revel.* xx. 4, 5, which compare with *Psal.* i. 5.) which will be the Time of the first Retribution. And this Resurrection of the Just, answers to τῇ παλιγγενεσίᾳ, *the Regeneration*, in which likewise Christ promises the Reward to his Saints, *Matt.* xix. 28, 29. Lastly, in the second, and last Resurrection, the Glory of the Just will find its Accomplishment, when Mortality being swallow'd up of Life, and their Terrestrial being converted into Celestial and glorious Bodies, they shall be really equal, and like to the Angels.

Revel. xx. 4, 5, &c. Ver. 4, & 12.

Luke xiv. 14, 15.

This is the End of human Affairs, and this their Consummation. But now some may enquire concerning the Earth, What will become

become of that, when its Inhabitants all have left it? Concerning this Matter, and others that have Relation to it, we have, in the *Theory of the Earth*, given our Conjectures. But since these are doubtful and problematical Points, and, as it were, out of the Compass of the Christian Doctrine, we did not think it proper to insert any Thing of them here. And so much for these Matters.

CHAP. X.

Of Heaven and Hell. What sort of Heaven that of the Christians is, and how far it may be said to be local. What Hell is; whether there is, or will be any Subterranean, or any other local, corporeal, and external Hell, before the Day of Judgment, and Conflagration of the World. Of the Punishments of Hell; whether they are to be looked upon as finite, or infinite, or indefinite.

AND now we have seen an End of all human Things upon Earth; and Heaven and Hell come next to be consider'd. By the Word *Heaven*, the Christians understand a State and Place of future Felicity, or Seats of beatified Souls: And these Seats they place in a sublime Station, remote from Earth,

Earth, and high in the Starry Regions, and call them Heaven. To this Point there is an Agreement between the Chriſtian Doctrine, and the Opinions of the wiſeſt among the Heathens, and the Sentiments of their Philoſophers, who ſent back thoſe Souls that had behaved themſelves well upon Earth, to that Heaven, from which they at firſt deſcended. But as for the Poets, a Generation audacious and lawleſs, and who repreſent and miſrepreſent the Doctrines of the Ancients according to their Pleaſure, and ſhew the Truth in Diſguiſe and Maſquerade, they place their Elyſian Fields, their Seats of the Bleſſed, in I know not what Lands, and fortunate Iſlands; or, which is yet more incongruous, under Ground, and in ſubterranean Regions. Thus groſly does *Virgil* philoſophize, to the Capacity and Taſte of the People; and that, perhaps, from an obſcure or corrupt ſort of Knowledge, either of the ancient, or the future Paradiſe. 'Tis true, indeed, the Saints will enjoy a happy Life in that new Earth, and that ſecond Paradiſe: But the Queſtion is not here concerning that intermediate Happineſs, but the ſupream Beatitude and Seat of the Saints, after the laſt Reſurrection, at the End of the Millennium, when putting on their celeſtial Bodies, and changing their Seats, they ſhall enjoy a Conſummate Glory, and an inconceivable Felicity.

THAT

THAT these Seats are celestial, or supercelestial, all Christians agree; I say, *or Supercelestial;* for the scholastick Doctors assert, that a certain *Empyrean*, or *fiery Heaven*, superiour to all the rest, will be the Habitation of the Saints, and all that will be eternally happy. But besides, that no such fiery Heaven appears to us, by the Help either of Sense or Reason, except the Bodies of the Sun, and the fixed Stars; there is no such Order of the Heavens, and no such System of the World as these Doctors imagine: For they imagine that all the Heavens are concentrical, or that they belong to one and the same Centre, and are involved and wrapt up in each other, like the Coats of an Onion; which is in some Measure true of the Planetary Orbs, but by no Means of the fixed Stars: For neither are they all of them fixed in one Superficies, as it were in the same Cieling, at an equal Distance every where from the Earth; but some of them are immers'd deeper than others in the celestial Regions, and are unequally distant from us by immense immensurable Spaces, and every one moves in its own peculiar Orb. And when these Authors place the Firmament, or the Orb of the fixed Stars above the Planets, then, other Orbs, Orb above Orb, till they come to the first Mover, as they are pleased to express themselves, and then on the Summit of all, or in the supream Circle of the Universe,

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the *Empyrean* Heaven, they build up a Frame of the Heavens that is entirely fictitious, and an Order of Stars, that is not incommodious for the Vulgar, but is utterly unworthy of Aſtronomers or Philoſophers. And they ſeem to have contriv'd this Empyrean Heaven on the Summit of all the Orbs, after the Example of their elemental Fire: For, as they have diſpoſed of this Fire in the ſuperior Part of the elemental World, becauſe it is more light and ſubtle than the reſt, ſo in the Heavens they place this fiery or this flaming Orb, as being more pure and excellent than them all, in the ſupream Region of the Univerſe. But they talk in either Caſe abſurdly: For neither is there any ſuch fiery Sphere in the outward Part of the ſublunary World; and in the Spheres of the fixed Stars, the fiery Matter dwells not in the Ends or the Extremity of the Orb, but has its Place in the Middle, and conſtitutes there a bright and a flaming Star. So that unleſs you will place the Habitation of the Souls of the Juſt amidſt theſe Flames, that is, in the Sun, or ſome other Stars, you will find nothing beſides of Empyrean through all the Extent of Heaven.

But tho' the Empyrean Heaven, in the Senſe and Situation in which 'tis ſet forth above appears to me to be a mere Fiction, yet I ſee nothing that can hinder our Belief, that among the celeſtial Orbs, as among the Stars, ſome are more bright, more flaming, and, if

if I may ſo expreſs myſelf, more glorious than others. But wherever *Schechinah* is, or the glorious Body of Chriſt, it ſpreads its Rays like a new Star, and its Light around it, and in its Neighbourhood all around it, the bleſſed Saints ſhall dwell, as under a Throne of Glory. Chriſt has often told us that, and thus, being about to die, accoſts his Father, *Father, I will that thoſe whom thou haſt given unto me, where I am ſhould be with me, that they may behold the Glory which thou haſt given me; for thou lovedſt me before the Foundation of the World.* But ſtrictly to define theſe Seats and theſe Manſions of Bliſs, is not in our Power at preſent; nor, indeed, does it much concern us: But ſince the Saints ſhall have their Habitation in Heaven, and their Inheritance in the Realms of Light, 'tis very probable that their Seats will be not only above the Globe of the Moon, but above the Atmoſpheres of all the Planets, in thoſe Ætherial Regions where there is eternal Day, and where Night never comes. Laſtly, ſince Chriſt has taught us, that *in his Father's Houſe there are many Manſions*, 'tis but reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that every Saint, or Aſſembly of Saints, according to the Degree of their Purity and Perfection, will have their Habitation nearer to *Schechinah*, or to the Throne of Glory.

Cor. vxi. John xii. 26. xiv. 3. xvii. 24. 2 Cor. v. 1. Col. i. 5. Eph. iv. 10. John xiv. 2.

THUS much concerning the Station and Seat of the Bleſſed. As for their Condition,

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(for we have ſaid that both of them are comprehended under the Name of Heaven,) that is, the Kind and Degree of Felicity, which the Saints will enjoy in theſe Ætherial Regions, the Saying of the Apoſtle has here deſervedly a Place; *Eye hath not ſeen, nor hath Ear heard, nor can the Mind of Man conceive the Happineſs that God has prepared for thoſe who love him.* Theſe Things ſurpaſs our preſent Capacities, and the Force of human Thought. Yet this is certain, that let them be what they will, they muſt all be referr'd, either to the Body, or to the Mind. What the Body of the Bleſſed will be in Heaven, both as to the Matter and to the Form of it, we have in the ſeventh and eighth Chapters, to the beſt of our Power, explain'd: That beſides its incomparable Endowments, it will be free from every Evil of Sickneſs, or Pain, or Trouble, with which we are afflicted in our preſent Bodies: And that it will willingly, and without Reluctance, obey the Commands of Reaſon, prepar'd and ready for every kind of Obedience. As for the Soul, all its Faculties in that State, will grow greater and ſtronger, and will aſpire to the utmoſt Perfection. The Senſes, the Affections, all the Faculties of the Soul will become more lively, and will terminate in greater and more illuſtrious Objects.

1 Cor. ii. 9.

And firſt of all, new and moſt wonderful Objects will not be wanting to entertain the

the outward Senſes; when being exalted above all the Planets, we ſhall view the boundleſs Ocean of the Univerſe, and innumerable Globes of Worlds, floating along the vaſt Stream of the Sky, each fill'd with its proper Inhabitants: For the Force of the Eye, and the viſual Faculty will be ſo ordain'd and conſtituted, that it will ſurpaſs all the Power of the moſt artful Glaſſes, and will reach and take in Objects much greater and nobler, and more remote than what we now diſcern in this muddy Air. Then, when we ſhall contemplate the fix'd Stars, thoſe eternal celeſtial Fires, thoſe numberleſs Suns of prodigious Magnitude, ſucceeding one another without End, through all the immenſe Spaces of the Sky, what Pleaſure, what Raptures will not this Proſpect of the Univerſe raiſe in us? How great is the Lord, how great is our God, the Author and Creator of every Creature, of every Thing that fills this boundleſs All?*

LASTLY, Beſides this Magnificence of the Works divine, there will be a matchleſs Beauty in the Face of the Heavens, ſeeing that the Stars, like ſo many Gems of different Orders, and of different Kinds, will ſhine with a thouſand ſeveral Glories, and a thouſand various Colours; when in the Confines of the Orbs, and their Approaches

*Alas! How vile does this Earth ſeem, when I look up to Heaven! See the Place of *Seneca*, in his *Natur. Quæſt. Præfat. Quam juvat inter Sydera*, &c.

to each other, their Rays being variouſly refracted, new Lights and painted Arches will ariſe, and numerous Kinds and Forms of Splendors will be ſeen, ſuch as are painted by the Prophet in the holy City, *Revel.* xxi. 18, 19, *&c.* This, beſides, ought to be added, that when we ſhall have obtain'd a Station, or Seat, in thoſe Ætherial Regions, a Station exalted above all the Planets, we ſhall not only ſee one Hemiſphere, or half of the Heavens, as now we ſee it, but ſhall behold the Sphere intire, and at one and the ſame Time become Spectators of the vaſt Circumference and Amphitheatre of the World, the Palace of the univerſal King, with all its Ornaments, and its moſt ſplendid Furniture. What and how much will be added to this celeſtial Sight by the Preſence and Influence of the divine *Schechinah*, is beyond all mortal Power to expreſs.

But why do we dwell ſo long upon the outward Senſes? The chief Felicity of the Saints in Heaven will conſiſt in the Contemplation of their Minds, and the Motions of their Affections. But this Felicity eſcapes us, or, as the Apoſtle expreſſes it, *does not enter into the Heart of Man* in this preſent State. But this, nevertheleſs, we know, that the greater and the more excellent the Objects of the Underſtanding are, the purer and the fuller Joy does the Mind receive from the Contemplation of them. This likewiſe we know, that there

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is nothing in the Univerſe, or the Nature of Things, greater than the divine Nature; and the Perfections of it, to whom nothing that is finite can be equal, or ſecond; from which the Conſequence is very clear, that to Minds rightly prepar'd, the moſt tranſporting Happineſs muſt ariſe from the Contemplation and the Love of God. So far the Point is clear; but we are not able, in this Life, either to expreſs in Words, or to reach in Thought, the very loweſt Degrees, or ſo much as a light Idea of this high Beatitude; ſo foreign and ſo remote is true Felicity from our preſent Condition.

BUT to proceed a little: By the ſame Degrees that we make an Improvement and Proficiency in the Knowledge of God, will the Love and Admiration of him increaſe in us, than which Affections human Nature knows nothing that brings more Felicity to it: Then, the ſacred Scripture teſtifies, and Reaſon on ſeveral Accounts convinces us, that our Knowledge of Things divine will be improv'd in the Heavens, to the very utmoſt of our Endeavour, and our Capacity. Here, ſays the Apoſtle, our Knowledge is like that of Children; but it will be there like that in the Vigour and Maturity of manly Age; *Here we ſee through a Glaſs darkly, but there Face to Face; now I know in Part, but then I ſhall know as alſo I am known.* Whatever ſecret Senſe theſe Words of the Apoſtle may have, conſider'd one by one, 1 Cor. xiii. 12.

and narrowly ſifted, yet they teach us in general, that our Knowledge will be compleat and perfect when we ſhall be converſant in Heaven, and among Celeſtial Inhabitants.

Reason likewiſe ſpeaks the ſame Language to us, and the ſame the Nature of the Thing, ſince all Things concur in that Celeſtial Life, which may promote or enlarge our Knowledge. Thoſe Aſſiſtants to Science, or thoſe Incitements and Spurs to Enquiry, which proceed from the external Senſes, and the Knowledge which we receive from them, will be much ſtronger, and more efficacious, and will much farther extend themſelves in diſcerning either ſmall or remote Objects, than the Organs of our preſent Bodies can ever be able to carry us. Then the Force of Reaſon, and the Force of Genius will become much more clear, and ſtrong, and penetrating, by the Purity and Subtlety of our Celeſtial Bodies, and the Soul will ſoar to Angelick Underſtanding and Excellency in every kind of its Affections and Contemplations. Laſtly, by the Purity of the Mind, together with that of the Body, we ſhall be render'd rightly diſpos'd, and fit to receive God; I mean, to receive thoſe divine Influxes and Illuminations, which ſurpaſs the Gifts of Nature, be it ever ſo much exalted. That eternal Truth, that intellectual Light is diffus'd throughout the Univerſe, but is receiv'd only

only according to the Measure of the Receiver; and Souls, according to the Largeness of their Knowledge, and the Purity of their Affections, become more capacious of the Deity, and take larger Draughts of Celestial Rays and Celestial Inspirations. This Crust of Flesh, this Mass of Mud, with which we are at present cover'd, scarce allows Entrance to Light divine; but by the Sparkles which we sometimes perceive, we are brought to Desire, and to expect the Blaze of Day, like Harvest by the first Fruits.

To all this is wont to be added, as the Top and Accomplishment of our Happiness in the Heavens, the Vision beatifick. But here we understand either the corporeal and external, or incorporeal and intellectual Vision. As far as 'tis corporeal, it will be the Vision of *Schechinah*, that is, of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ in his glorious Body; * for God himself is invisible, as a most pure and unmix'd Spirit. The incorporeal Vision will be a Contemplation of the divine Nature; and in that, as in a Glass, a Sight of both Worlds, the ideal or the eternal, or the temporary and external World. The Essences or the Ideas of Things, and the eternal and unchangeable Truths, which John xvii. 24.

* As the Angels see God, *Mat.* xviii. 10. so shall we see him.

reſult from the Regards and Relations which they have to each other, I call the ideal World: The Ranks and Degrees of all poſſible Things, from the great Creator of all, or from the Being infinitely perfect, down through all intermediate Degrees, to the loweſt Order of all, and the neareſt Approach to nothing; perſpicuouſly to contemplate all theſe, as in the open Boſom of the Father, and as they are rang'd and ſhine in the divine Underſtanding, is a Viſion truly beatifick.

But we have ſaid, that this contemplative Viſion comprehends both the one and the other World; that eternal and unchangeable one in the divine Intellect; and this preſent, temporary, changeable one, which is govern'd by the Will of God, on which it entirely depends. And here too a boundleſs Field of Contemplation offers itſelf, of which in this Life we are ſcarce able to reach to the leaſt Part. We here are ignorant both of the Number, the Order, the Magnitude, the Perfection, and the Viciſſitudes and Periods of created Things. We, in a great Meaſure, are ignorant of the Implements of our little World, the Earth; of the Hiſtory of our Animals, our Plants, and of Things inanimate; but of their Cauſes and their Influences we are much more ignorant. But there are innumerable planetary Worlds beſides, that like ours are adorn'd and provided with Things and Creatures of

every

every Kind, both animated and inanimated. In contemplating these, we shall admire the Wisdom of God, and his inexhaustible Fecundity, that shews itself in them a thousand different Ways; while we behold and revolve in our Thoughts the Variety that appears in Millions of Shapes, the new Appearance and the new Ornaments that are seen in every one of them, yet every where fit, and beautiful, and accommodated.

—— *Facies non omnibus una,*
Nec diversa tamen, qualem decet esse sororum.

Each of their Faces is distinguish'd from the others; yet not so distinguish'd, but that there is some Resemblance; and such a Resemblance, and such a Distinction is becoming in Sisters, as the Effect and Result of Nature in those who spring from the same Father.

BUT besides the Order of natural Things that will be seen in every Planet, or in every planetary World, there is likewise in each of them a moral Order, or a religious OEconomy; by which the Inhabitants of every World are directed in their divine Worship, in their Search after Truth, and their Improvement in Virtue, that they may at length attain eternal Felicity. In these religious OEconomies, (of which amongst innumerable Worlds there is an infinite Variety,) not

only the Glory of the divine Wiſdom, but likewiſe of his Goodneſs and his Juſtice ſhine out moſt brightly: In theſe the primary Myſteries of Providence are laid up. In the OEconomy of our little World, the Myſtery of the Meſſiah is the Alpha and the Omega, and fills all Parts; what paſſes in the reſt of the Worlds is hid from us: But if by one Example we may judge of the reſt, we ought to believe, that in every World there are new Proofs of admirable Wiſdom, under various and different Forms and Miniſteries. But to unlock and take a View of theſe Treaſures, theſe Secrets of Providence, this Theory, if I may ſo expreſs myſelf, of all Religions ſpread through the Immenſity of the Univerſe: What Pleaſures, what Tranſports, what raviſhing Senſations, muſt not this Proſpect, and theſe Contemplations excite in us? Nothing can be more pleaſing to the Soul, than to make a Progreſs in the moſt excellent Studies, and to enjoy that Truth which we continually court, with which we are continually charm'd.

Why ſhould I mention the fix'd Stars, thoſe noble, thoſe glorious Bodies, excelling vaſtly the Planets in Matter, and in Magnitude: They are far from being all of them fix'd in the ſame vaulted Roof of Heaven, as to us wretched Mortals they appear, but are profuſely ſown at immenſe Diſtances from each other, through all the vaſt Concave and the

the Profundity of Heaven. 'Tis reasonable to believe, that according to the Fulness of the divine Power, Inhabitants are not wanting to these morning, these first created Stars, which sing forth the Praise of God, according to that of *Job*, *When the morning Stars sung together, and all the Sons of God shouted for Joy.* Job xxxviii. 7. Psal cxlviii. 2, 3. These have, I say, their own Inhabitants, and Animals which are peculiar to them, and every Thing else in proportion greater than our contemptible Trifles, according to the Dignity and the Magnitude of the primary Bodies of the Universe.

LASTLY, we shall in Heaven have a clear Prospect of *the intellectual System of the World*, which is most of all hid from us here. I speak of the Orders of Angels and Archangels, and all that illustrious and glorious Hierarchy, in Understanding and Majesty next to God, and immediately under him in the Administration of the Empire of the Universe. When we shall have a full and a clear View of the Forces, the Numbers, the Degrees, the Endowments, the Dignities, and the Splendors of this celestial Army, how mean, and how vile will all earthly Things appear to us? *Things that are past shall not once be remember'd, nor ever come into the Mind again.* Isa. lxv. 17. Jer. iii. 17. This the Prophet formerly said concerning the State of Things under the Kingdom of Christ in the new Earth: Much more shall

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the Memory of all Things paſt be obſcur'd, and vaniſh before Celeſtial Glory. There will be no more Place for theſe empty Trifles with which we are taken up here: The greateſt, the beſt, and the nobleſt Objects, will be then the Obſervation both of the Eyes and Mind; and paſſing Eternity in the Contemplation and the Enjoyment of theſe, we ſhall be eternally raviſh'd with the tranſporting Pleaſures which will flow from that ſublime Imployment. And,

THUS we have with Brevity ſhewn what our Sentiments ought to be concerning the Beatifick Viſion. If you underſtand the external Viſion, 'tis the Viſion of the external World after a ſenſible Manner, but under a much more illuſtrious Appearance than it is ſeen at preſent, eſpecially when we ſhall behold the divine *Schechinah*, or the Glory of Chriſt. If you ſpeak of the Viſion incorporeal, that is another *Schechinah*, if I may be allow'd to call it ſo, or the internal and intellectual Viſion of God; the Object of which Viſion is twofold: Firſt, there is the Idea of God, and in him of all Things poſſible and eternal, which may be call'd the Antemundane, and the immoveable Idea; and then the Idea of created Things, or of the World external to God, perceiv'd by the Underſtanding in all its Latitude, and through all its Duration, through all its Periods and its Viciſſitudes, through all the Regions of the Univerſe, and all the Orders of

of Creatures; laſtly, through all the Series of Ages, from the Beginning of Time to the End of it: This may be call'd the *Mundane Idea*, or the univerſal Mirror of Providence; and about nothing more great, more illuſtrious, or more divine, can the Minds of Men or Angels be converſant, than theſe amazing Objects. And if Felicity ſprings from Viſion or Contemplation, thrice happy may they be pronounced, who in this glorious Light behold the Light, who drink Draughts of Life from this eternal Fountain of it; they who are thrown out of their natural State by drinking of theſe Rivers of Pleaſure, are hurried beyond themſelves by Raptures and Extaſies, or with open Breaſts receive their God within them. Pſal. xxxvi. 9, 10.

MAY we be allow'd to add one Thing to theſe, in order to explain the Viſion of God, that inexhauſtible Myſtery? We are ſaid in the Heavens to behold God Face to Face, and to ſee him as he is: Here we ſee God in his Works, as through a Glaſs; there we ſhall ſee him in himſelf: Here we behold him in his Attributes; there we ſhall view him in his Eſſence, or in his proper Idea: While we are in this preſent State, the divine Goodneſs appears one Thing to us, the Juſtice of God another; his Power another Thing, and his Wiſdom another: His Will ſtill ſeems another Thing, and his Underſtanding another. Sometimes God ſeems to us to act, and ſometimes to be unactive; and

now

now to act one Way, and anon another. Then, he neither appears to be a ſimple nor an immutable Being, but rather a Being the moſt compounded of all Beings, and more or leſs, according to the Occaſion, active; nor even this with Uniformity: But when we ſhall ſee God in his proper Idea, all theſe will come into one moſt ſimple and immutable Nature. And to contemplate God after this Manner, is to ſee God *as he is*, *viz.* a Being infinitely perfect, an univerſal Flow of Light, and of unclouded Glory.

But I reſtrain myſelf: For ſhould we, like little Children, utter imperfect Sounds, imperfect Senſe, concerning the ſublimeſt Matters, which by ſo many Degrees ſurpaſs our little Capacities, and which too haſtily fly the Search of thoſe who live in this Darkneſs here on Earth? We ought, with St. *Paul*, to be rapp'd into the third Heaven, in order to learn theſe unſpeakable Things, theſe ſublimeſt of all Myſteries. The ſacred Scripture itſelf is almoſt ſilent, and ſpeaks but ſparingly and in general concerning the State of Souls who are for ever happy in Heaven, and of the Means and Degrees of their Happineſs. When it mentions *Rivers of Pleaſure*, or *the Delights of Paradiſe*, or the *Crowns of Glory*, or other Things of the like Nature, to paint celeſtial Glory and celeſtial Felicity, its Language is according to that of the Vulgar, for the Capacity and the Uſe of the People, who are wont to meaſure

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and value the Sovereign Good by these external little glittering Things. Besides, we ought to observe,

THAT since the future Felicity of the Saints is Two-fold, one in the new Earth, under the Reign of Christ for a thousand Years; the other in the Heavens, upon the Consummation of all Things, which latter is to last eternally; there are many Things more in the sacred Writings which relate to the former, than to the latter Felicity; I say to the former, as being nearer to us, and in the Way that leads to the other. Besides, we more easily conceive its State, and its Manner, because 'tis Terrestrial, and not much unlike to our present Life, except its Incommodities, and its Calamities. But the other, or the celestial Felicity, differs wholly from the Use and Manner of our present Life. and comes up entirely to an Angelick State, a State most foreign to the Capacity and Understanding of the Vulgar.

St. JOHN has rightly taught us, *It does not yet appear what we shall be*, that is, in the Heavens; *but we know that when he appears, we shall be like him.* Then Christ tells us that we shall be like to the Angels, ἰσαγγέλους. And, therefore, as to the Body we shall be like to Christ; as to the Body and Mind, we shall be like to the Angels. This we know in general: But this Two-fold Conformity contains in it the Seeds of various Perfections. From hence we acquire

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new Force for all the Acts of the Underſtanding, and for compleating the Contemplation of Truth; and the Love of God, and Happineſs increaſes in us, as our Knowledge increaſes. We ſtill make a farther and a farther Progreſs in the Knowledge of Things divine, and are transform'd from Glory to Glory, after the Image of God himſelf, till we come to a Meaſure of the Fulneſs of the Stature of Chriſt, and to an Union with God and with Chriſt; what and how great we know not.

John xvii. 20, 21, 22, 23, 24.

GRANT, O God, that the Felicity, which yet we are not able ſo much as to conceive, we at length may know by Experience, and by Fruition; and that, deſpiſing the empty Pleaſures and Glories of this World, we may enjoy ſubſtantial, never-ending Joys and Glories in Heaven, by and for the ſake of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.

WE now come to treat of *Hell*. By which Word the Chriſtian Authors underſtand the Place and the State of the Damn'd, and of Men and Demons wicked and miſerable. The *Latins* by their Hell ſometimes denote the State of the Dead in general, which the *Greeks* call ἅιδην, a State of abſconding, or if I may call it ſo, of Inviſibility. In which Senſe and Signification, 'tis us'd in the ſacred Writings, as by learned Men has been abundantly ſhewn. But Uſe has obtain'd among many, that by the Word *Hell*, is underſtood the Priſon of miſerable and

and wicked Creatures, who are departed this Life, and the Place of their Punishment and their Torment; and that in Regions under us. According to this Acceptation of the Word, let us first, if you please, enquire, Whether there is any such Place in Being as a subterranean Hell?

THERE is no doubt but that there are many and monstrous Cavities under Ground; Some of which are filled with Water, some with Fire, and some with only Air: But among all these, you will hardly find one with which the Conditions and Qualities of Hell will exactly agree. This Infernal Place in the sacred Writings, is called, *Outward Darkness*, and *Unquenchable Fire*: 'Tis hardly possible, that the same Place can be at once dark and fiery, unless very many and gross Fumes are intermixed with the Fire. And 'tis from hence, I believe, that some have taken Occasion to imagine that the Tops and the Vents of *Ætna*, and the Mouths and Jaws of other Vulcanian Mountains, are the Gates of Hell. I can by no Means agree with these: For you must imagine, according to this Hypothesis, either that there are so many separate Hells, as there are Mountains upon the Earth that vomit Fire, which would be absurd; or that there is one continual or void subterranean Region, which every where runs under the exterior Orb of the Earth; as formerly the Abyss in the Antediluvian World. But according

cording to the preſent Conſtruction of the Earth, 'tis impoſſible that any ſuch empty Region can extend itſelf under the whole Globe of the Earth: For that Region would be either under the Bottom of the Ocean, or higher and ſuperior to it. If it were higher, it would be interrupted by the Intercurrency of the Ocean, between the Iſlands and the Continents, and in ſeveral other Places, and ſo would conſtitute manifold and divided various Hells. But if you place this Region beneath the Ocean, beſides that in the Origination of the Earth from Chaos, this empty Region under the Abyſs could not poſſibly be formed or conſtituted, if there were any Deſcent, or Paſſage, or Entrance into this Hell, thither down would the Waters of the Ocean, and other ſubterranean Waters flow, and extinguiſh the Fire.

THERE is certainly no Abſurdity in believing that there is Fire, or a Maſs of Fire at the Centre of the Earth; and, therefore, others pretend that Hell is to be placed there. It would ſurely be very difficult, according to this Hypotheſis, to deſcend or arrive at Hell, thus ſituated in the very Heart of the Earth. The Wicked would rejoice when the Place of their future Torment, would be thus impervious and inacceſſible: How many ſolid Regions, what Bulk and Thickneſs of Earth were to be perforated in this Journey? How much Time would be ſpent on the Way? The Semidiameter of the

the Earth is believed to contain above three thouſand four hundred of our Miles: The Ground itſelf, indeed, is not impenetrable: But by what Hole, or what Opening, or through what Part of the Earth's Superficies, a Paſſage can be given to ſo vaſt a Profundity, we are utterly to ſeek. Beſides, 'tis manifeſt that the Devils are not intirely ſhut up in this central Priſon; but that they rather wander through the Regions of the Air, as it were in free Cuſtody; and the infernal Tyrant is called the Prince of the Air in the ſacred Writings; where we are taught by the ſame Oracles, that he has his Habitation at preſent, and the Seat of his Empire; and that he will at length be ſhut up in the great Abyſs at the Beginning of Chriſt's Millennian Kingdom.

Matt. viii. 29. Vid. Huet. Orig. p. 81. § 23. Eph. ii. 2. Apoc. xx. 2, 3.

BUT, perhaps, you will object to me the Saying of the Apoſtle, that the evil Angels were caſt down into Hell, and delivered into Chains of Darkneſs. And that beſides Chriſt deſcended εἰς κατώτερα τῆς γῆς. Laſtly, by cuſtomary ſpeaking, as well ſacred as vulgar, we are ſaid to aſcend into Heaven, and *to deſcend into Hell*; therefore there is a ſubterranean Place. But theſe Arguments prove nothing at all: Firſt, as to *Tartarum*, or *Hell*, this Word is uſed to ſignify the ſubterranean World, and the gloomy Air with which we are ſurrounded, as is very well known to the Learned. And into this Tartarum, this Hell, or this inferior and impure

2 Pet. ii. 4. Eph. iv. 9. 10.

impure Region of the Air, the degenerate Angels are thrown down, being expelled their native Ætherial Seats: But, whereas they are said to be kept in Chains, that is spoke alluding to a common Custom, because Criminals are wont to be so kept to hinder them from escaping. Then as to what relates to the Descent of Christ εἰς τὰ κατώτερα τῆς γῆς, that does not relate to the Death of Christ, (as is abundantly evident from other Places compared with it,) but to his Incarnation; that is, when in order to procure Salvation for us, he left his Heaven, and vouchsafed to descend to this lower Earth: I say, *lower* or inferior, that is, with respect to the Heavens; for the Comparison is founded here not upon the Parts of the Earth, but upon the Parts of the Universe. Lastly, when the Dead are said to descend into Hell, *ad Inferos*, *vel Infernum*, that either denotes the *Sepulchre*, whither the Bodies of the Good, as well as of the Wicked, descend; or, it is particularly applied to the Wicked: For as contrary Fate is, so opposite Places are assign'd to the Good and the Wicked; and, therefore, as we provide Heaven for the former, a Region sublime and refulgent, we believe that a subterranean and a gloomy Mansion is well adapted to the latter. Nor is it so easy to conceive that the free Air should be the Receptacle of Souls, and their Prison, as some dismal Abode under Ground. But vulgar

Ps. cxxxix. 15. Joh. iii. 13. & Chap. vi. Then Joh. viii. 23. & Act. ii. 19.

gar Opinions and imaginary Accounts, are of no Uſe in determining the Truth of Things. But let us proceed to what follows :

IF no ſuch Thing is to be found as a ſubterranean Hell, the next Queſtion is, Whether there is any where a corporeal and local Hell before the Day of Judgment, and the Conflagration of the World ? or, Whether before that Day of the Lord the Wicked are only plagu'd with internal Stings, and tormented by their own Furies. For my own Part, I am inclin'd to that Opinion, that before the Day of general Judgment there will be no external Puniſhments.* If departed Souls, till that Time comes, remain naked and without Bodies, the Thing is then indubitable ; at leaſt for them who expect, that at the laſt Day there will be an external Judicature with all the Formality of the Proceedings of a human Court of Juſtice : For neither can naked and inviſible Minds be brought before a Tribunal, nor is it juſt that any one ſhould be condemn'd to ſuffer before his Cauſe is try'd and determin'd.

I KNOW 'tis affirm'd, as we obſerv'd above, that there is a private and particular Judgment appointed before the general one, for every Soul as ſoon as it leaves the Body ; and that in ſome Meaſure may be receiv'd,

* Some of the Fathers believed, that there was no local corporeal Hell before the Day of Judgment. See them in *Maldonat.* upon *Luke* xvi.

provided they who assert it, mean nothing external by it, but only an internal Punishment, by which every one suffers according as he has done, and his own Conscience being at once Witness and Judge, regards himself already as one both guilty and condemn'd, and suffers Punishment according to the Degree of his Guilt, αὐτοκατάκριτος, being judged and condemned by himself. But here we are speaking of an external or corporeal Punishment; for which it seems impossible that there can be any Room before the Resurrection. I am not ignorant that in the Parable of *Dives* and *Lazarus*, the Souls of the Departed are soon carried, on one Side, into the Bosom of *Abraham*, and on the other, into Tormenting Fires: But in the same Relation, *Dives* has a Tongue, and Lips, and the other Organs of Speech; and consequently his whole Body, as if he had carried it entire with him to Hell; which evidently shews that that Relation is not true, κατὰ ῥῆσιν, *according the Letter*, but that 'tis like a Fable or *Emblem*, ὑπολυπώσεως, accommodated to the Use and Capacity of the People, and contrived and invented to represent Truth by Fiction, *viz.* that the Soul survives after the Body is extinct, and that in another Life the Good will be happy, and the Wicked miserable.

Luke xvi.

These Things being thus laid open, it seems to me to be highly probable, that the Punishments of the Wicked before the Day of

of Judgment will be only internal, that is to say, a total Privation of every Good, and of every Comfort, besides the Stings of Conscience, the Anguish of Soul, and a restless and dreadful Expectation of the Judgment to come; and that there will be no external or general Hell open'd or kindled before the Coming of Christ, when the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from Heaven, *with his mighty Angels in flaming Fire, taking Vengeance on them that know not God, and that obey not the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ.* This is the judicial, the solemn, the appointed Time, when Sentence being past, the Wicked shall receive their Punishment; and not only Men, but flagitious Devils, who are deliver'd into Chains of Darkness, and reserved to be tormented till this Day, 2 *Pet.* ii. 4. *Jud.* Ver. 6. Nor is it otherwise probable, that the Devils at present should live among Torments, or in tormenting Flames, when they wander about the Air and the Globe of the Earth with too much Life and Activity.*

2 Thess. i. 7, 8. Matt. xxv. 41. 2 Pet. iii. 7.

* Since there is assign'd to wicked Men and Devils the same Place of Punishment, and both are to receive their Sentence at the same Time; but since these latter will not be cast into Hell, or the Place of Torment, before the Coming of Christ, as is plain from the sacred Writers and their Interpreters, [See PP. *Gerard. Tom.* 9. *de extr. Jud.* p. 78. *Maldonat. in Mat.* viii. 29. *'Tis remarkable how unanimously most of the ancient Authors taught*

THUS have we treated succinctly of Hell, and of the State and Mansions of the Wicked before the Day of Judgment: But when that fatal Day arrives, and the impious Dead being summon'd to appear by the Sound of the last Trumpet, shall be thrown down into Hell, and condemn'd to external Punishments, the Question is, Whether those Punishments are to endure eternally, without Cessation, without Relaxation, without End? Human Nature abhors the very Name of eternal Punishments, which sets before our Eyes a Spectacle of insatiable, implacable Revenge; and this for no Manner of Profit or Hopes of Amendment; yet the sacred Scripture seems to declare for the contrary Side. Jesus Christ, though the greatest Lover of human Kind, yet plainly and expressly calls the Punishments of the Devils and Damn'd, eternal Punishments, when laying before us the Destinies of the Righteous and the Ungodly, he pronounces Sentence against the latter in the following Form: *Depart from me, ye Cursed, into everlasting Fire, prepared for the Devil and his Angels*, *Matt.* xxv. 41. To the same Purpose he tells us, *That the Wheat being gather'd into the Garner, the Chaff is to be burnt with un-*

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taught that the Devils will not be tormented before the Day of Judgment,] so neither does it seem agreeable to Scripture, that the latter should be thrust down thither before that Time.

unquenchable Fire, *Mat.* iii. 12. and that *in Hell the Worm dieth not, and the Fire is not quenched*, *Mark* ix. 44.

THESE Teſtimonies we have from the Mouth of Chriſt himſelf, that the Puniſhments of the Wicked ſhall be eternal, without End: Nor do the Prophets and Apoſtles ſpeak otherwiſe, *Dan.* xii. 2. 2 *Theſſ.* i. 9. At the ſame Time on the other Side, Reaſon, the Nature of God, and the Nature of Things, cry out loudly againſt it, and admoniſh us, that ſome Moderation is to be uſed, and ſome commodious Explication of the divine Paſſages, that both human Rights and divine may not at once be violated, and the Chriſtian Religion ſuffer in its Intereſt or Reputation.

AT the ſame Time it is my Opinion, that we ought firmly to adhere to that Rule for the Interpretation of Scripture, which has been received by Divines, *That without abſolute Neceſſity, we ought not to depart from the Letter.* Then, in the next Place, we are to enquire, whether the Duration of eternal Puniſhment is not repugnant to manifeſt Reaſons, and to invincible Arguments: For, if this is the Caſe, the moſt rigid Cenſurers ought to excuſe us, if in this Point we diſſent from the common Interpretation. The Soul flies from the very Thought, and abhors the Remembrance of everlaſting Miſery; and ſeveral Things have occurr'd to me, while I have been thinking on this Sub-

ject, by which I am ſenſible that others have been perſuaded, as well as myſelf, that God neither will, nor can endure the perpetual Affliction and Torment of his own Creature; nor can Nature itſelf endure it. Then, we conceive the God of the Chriſtians to be the beſt and wiſeſt of Beings; that he is neither cruel nor unjuſt to the Race of Men; that there is nothing barbarous or diſmal in his Worſhip; that he has neither inſtituted, nor ſuffered any Thing that is barbarous, any Thing that is inhuman: No Blood, or Wounds, or Tearing of the Skin or Fleſh; nor does he love, after the Manner of *Moloch*, to embrace living Infants with their Arms on Fire. Beſides, Jeſus the Head and the Captain of the Chriſtian Diſpenſation, to whom the Father has committed all Judgment, is the greateſt Lover of human Kind; and ſuffered his own Blood to be ſhed to redeem us from Evil and Miſery. This King and merciful Father, and this moſt righteous Judge, govern entirely the Fates of Humankind; and yet you aſſert that, according to the ſacred Scriptures, the greateſt Part of Humankind will be damned to eternal Puniſhments, even by this moſt merciful Father, by this moſt righteous Judge.

Joh. v. 22. Act. x. 42. 2 Tim. iv. 1.

Concerning the Number of thoſe who will be miſerable in another Life, I have nothing to ſay, not being able to know any Thing of it: But that God ſhould condemn his

his own Creatures to a State of eternal Misery, and ſhould retain them in that State, ſeems to be repugnant both to divine Wiſdom and Goodneſs, and, I may add likewiſe, to Juſtice: I ſay repugnant to Wiſdom; for a State like this, of everlaſting and unchangeable Miſery, would be in vain, and of no Uſe, and therefore unwiſe and unworthy of God; for a Torment without Ceſſation, and without End, can neither be of Service to God, nor to Man. Not to Man moſt certainly, if there is no Room for Repentance, and he who is *Tormented* can never grow better; if no Intermiſſion, and no Eaſe is allow'd, that the Tormented may reſpire a little, and deliberate concerning the Change of his State and his Mind. Let this Puniſhment be ſevere, let it be bitter, nay, let it be laſting, but let it at length have an End; it can otherwiſe produce no Fruit, no, not the leaſt Degree of it; nor would it be poſſible for theſe miſerable Sinners to repent, and lead better Lives, if amidſt the Pangs of their Bodies and their Minds they ſhould happen to be born again.

BUT you will ſay, that their Puniſhment is deſervedly continued, their Impiety being continued; but that the Damn'd are incurable, and always perſiſt in their Malice. But this is begging the Queſtion, and this Suppoſition is injurious to the Dignity of God the Creator; for 'tis neither agreeable to the divine Wiſdom nor Goodneſs, ſo to form

form and constitute the reasonable Nature of Men, that it should be able to degenerate into a Depravity, from which there can be no Recovery; or into an unchangeable State of Misery and Impiety; * for such a State can be pleasing to no Deity, unless perhaps to the evil God of the Manichees. But if God, the greatest and the best of Beings would create such a Being as this, he would certainly on this Condition create it, that as soon as it was arriv'd to this incurable, this utterly desperate State, it should return to its primitive Nothing. Nor, in my Opinion, can the Honour of Providence be otherwise safe, than by cutting off that from the Number of Beings which once is grown incurable, and by the utter Destruction of that, which is not only worth nothing, but is some Degrees worse than nothing.

But by what Argument will you pretend to convince me, that the Souls of the Wicked are after Death incurable? The Fathers seem not to have believ'd that, who were of Opinion, that the last would be a purgative Fire, concerning which we have treated in the sixth Chapter. Nor does it seem just to limit the divine Power and Wisdom, and to oppress it with an evil irresistable Destiny, or an incurable Disease; for whatever this Distemper of Souls may be, if it can by any

* Knowing that no reasonable Creature shall perish everlastingly. *Hieron.* in *Gal.* iv.

any Method, or any Medicine be driven out, no Remedy certainly is more powerful, or more effectual than Fire, or than fiery Torments: This Pain, if any, will cauſe them to be touch'd with a Senſe of their former Crimes, and to grow weary of their preſent Miſery. Beſides, in that other Life, there will be no longer Room for the Infidelity of the Wicked: *When they ſhall have ſeen Chriſt coming in the Clouds, ſurrounded with Glory, and with his mighty Angels, triumphing every where over his Enemies, and trampling them under his Feet.* And then that Fomentation of Evil, which dwells in this Body and this Fleſh, will, in that State, be extinguiſh'd and ceaſe: There will be no internal Concupiſcence, no external Nouriſhment of Vice, nor any Allurements to Pleaſure, to Ambition, or Avarice, or any Incitements of the Senſes or Paſſions to Wickedneſs. For my Part, I cannot perceive by what Argument, true or falſe, or by what Impulſe internal or external, they can be mov'd to adhere eternally to their Vices and their Impiety, unleſs they ſhould be harden'd by God himſelf. But if they are actuated from without, and by Force, and are Maſters neither of their Reaſon nor Liberty, I cannot ſee how they can be further condemn'd. But we ſhall preſently reſume this Subject; in the mean while let us proceed to the reſt.

BESIDES, we appeal in this Cauſe to divine Juſtice and Equity. The Man, whom God created

created liable to fall, him, becauſe he fell, God will not puniſh eternally; nor will he deprive him, to whom he has given the Power, or rather the Impotence and the Liberty of falling into Vice, of the Power and the Liberty of relinquiſhing that Vice. But you will ſay, perhaps, that God does not deprive the Wicked of this Power and Liberty, but it proceeds from their own Will, that they perſiſt in Evil immoveable and inflexible. I anſwer, that according to your Hypotheſis God has created them of ſuch a Nature, that they cannot be otherwiſe than inflexible and irrecoverable, after they have once departed this Life, and deſcended into their Torments. Grant me but this, that thoſe miſerable Creatures are capable of repenting, and we will not throw away all Hope of their being receiv'd into Grace: But you deny that they can repent; I deſire that you would prove that their Repentance is impoſſible. If they continue to be reaſonable Creatures, indued with Underſtanding and Will, they can repent; but if they are depriv'd of Reaſon and Liberty, they can no longer ſin.

Others argue thus from divine Juſtice: 'Tis againſt all Equity, that the Offences of a ſhort Life, of a Life prone to Vice, ſhould be puniſh'd with eternal Puniſhments, when there is no Proportion between the Offence and the Puniſhment. But here, perhaps, you will retort, according to Cuſtom, that every

every Sin carries with it infinite Guilt, as being committed againſt an infinite God. This in ſome Meaſure, indeed, may be ſaid; but this is not the Rule, nor the Meaſure of the Actions of God towards his Creatures, and therefore can have no Validity when we give an Account of the Actions of God towards his Creatures. According to this Draconick Law, the ſmalleſt Offences may be lawfully puniſh'd with eternal Puniſhments, nay, and with the moſt grievous; for the Reaſon which you give is full as ſtrong for the Greatneſs of the Puniſhments, as for their Duration. Let us ſuppoſe then, ſince in ſtrict Juſtice it may be done, that the lighteſt Tranſgreſſors will be puniſh'd with the greateſt, and thoſe eternal Puniſhments, what ſhall be done to the more grievous Tranſgreſſors? what to the moſt grievous? If the lighteſt Tranſgreſſion deſerves the greateſt, and thoſe perpetual Puniſhments, what does or can the moſt grievous deſerve beyond it? for nothing is greater than the greateſt. This Account of yours therefore confounds all the Ends and Purpoſes of punitive Juſtice, and makes Sins in ſome Meaſure equal.

BUT let us proceed from the Juſtice of God, to his Goodneſs. The greateſt Rigour of Juſtice is ſaid to be the higheſt Injuſtice: 'Tis, at leaſt, inconſiſtent with Goodneſs and Mercy. But God, according to this your Hypotheſis, in the Puniſhment of Sinners,

Sinners, uſes the higheſt and the ſevereſt Juſtice, that I may ſay nothing worſe; for he puniſhes them with the moſt exquiſite Torments, and Torments which are to endure eternally, than which no Puniſhment can be conceiv'd more diſmal or more intolerable. We read of the Torments which the Chriſtians endur'd in the firſt Ages of the Church, and what, beſides, *Sicilian* and other Tyrants invented: But theſe are mild and gentle all, compar'd to infernal Torments; and not only gentle, but tranſitory; but a Pain that is at the ſame Time vehement and eternal, carries with it all the Degrees of Pain. Do but fancy ſuch a raging Heat of a Fever, ſuch a racking Fit of the Stone, or ſuch a tormenting Cholick, as is to endure ſeven Years, who could be equal to the ſupporting theſe cruel Pangs? But if inſtead of ſeven, you put a thouſand Years, no one could be found that would either purchaſe or bear that Millennian Life, upon that Condition; and much leſs Eternity.

But perhaps you will ſay that this is not the extream Rigour of his Juſtice; that God could have annihilated the Wicked, and have reduc'd them to nothing; and that by this means he would uſe the extream Rigour of his Juſtice. I anſwer, that 'tis much more deſirable not at all to be, and to be touch'd by no Senſe, either of Good or Evil, than to exiſt in perpetual Torments, without Intermiſſion, without End. This ſeems to me

to

to be clear by the Light of Nature. Let me, O God, return into Nothing; I am weary of my Being: 'Tis preferable much to have no Senſation, than to have no Senſation of any Thing but Pain. Take, O God, ſays the miſerable Creature, depriv'd almoſt by tormenting Flames of Reaſon, take away what is thine: I had rather be out of the Number of Things; O let me periſh, that I may avoid Perdition. This is the Voice of Nature; nor will we ſtop to make any Anſwer to the little Subtleties and Quirks of the Metaphyſicians. I appeal to the Race of Men, and to all Men of Senſe whatever, if 'tis not more eligible to be depriv'd of all Life, of all Cogitation, of all Exiſtence, than to be tormented in eternal Flames, to groan under eternal Torments. And nothing is more certain, than that if human Nature had not regarded with more Horror the Height of Miſery and eternal Torment, than Inſenſibility and Annihilation, God had threaten'd the Wicked with Annihilation inſtead of eternal Torments, and had us'd that as the more prevalent Way of deterring Mankind from Vice: But 'tis Time to return to our Subject.

Matth. xxvi. 24. Eccl. iv. 3.

SINCE this then is the Caſe, and Annihilation is the extreameſt Rigour of Juſtice that God can do to his Creatures, (that he might not be the Author of greater Evil than Good to any one,) yet he ſeems to decree and to execute ſomething more grievous and diſmal, ſome-

ſomething more bitter and cruel, againſt thoſe whom he condemns, than the extreameſt Rigour of his Juſtice requires. The extream Rigour of Juſtice comes near to cruel, much leſs can that which goes beyond that extream Rigour, eſcape the Imputation of Cruelty. At leaſt, as we ſaid above, this Manner of puniſhing with the utmoſt Rigour, or even beyond the utmoſt Rigour, does but little anſwer to that infinite Goodneſs, loving Kindneſs, and Mercy, which we aſcribe to God. And yet not only the Light of Nature, but the ſacred Scripture repreſents him thus *merciful and gracious, and long ſuffering, and abounding in Goodneſs and Truth.* He is drawn, as it were, againſt his Will to puniſh: 'Tis a Work that is ſtrange to him, and foreign from his Nature. *Have I any Pleaſure at all that the Wicked ſhould die, ſaith the Lord God, and not that he ſhould return from his Ways and live?* But if he has no Pleaſure in his temporal Death, much leſs has he in his eternal Death. But from whence at laſt comes this eternal Death, or by whom is it inflicted, if 'tis neither pleaſing to God, nor to the Creature that ſuffers, nor can be in the leaſt beneficial to either?

Exod. xxxiv. 6. Iſa. xxviii. 22. Ezek. xviii. 23, & 32.

THESE Things being thus propos'd and debated, concerning the Nature of God, and the juſt Government of created Things, we muſt return to the ſacred Writings, and to the Interpretation of thoſe Paſſages, which ſeem

ſeem to imply the Eternity of future Puniſhments. You know very well that the Senſe of thoſe Paſſages depends, in a great Meaſure, upon the Signification of the Word αἰώνιος, in *Hebrew* עולם or לעולם: which we have render'd *eternal*. In the mean while, 'tis very well known, that the Force and Meaning of this Word αἰώνιος, or the *Hebrew* עולם, is doubtful in the ſacred Writings; and does not always ſimply ſignify *eternal*, only a long and undetermin'd Time. The Statutes of the Moſaick Law were frequently ſaid to be eternal: *Exod.* xxvii. 21. and xxviii. 43. *Lev.* x. 15. and xvi. 34. *Num.* xviii. 11. and in ſundry other Places. And yet theſe Statutes, with the whole Moſaick Law, have many Ages ſince been aboliſh'd; and therefore you muſt own, that the Signification of that Word is to be mitigated, unleſs you pretend that the Judaick Law is ſtill to be obſerv'd.*

Concerning the Paſſover, Exod. xii. 14.

In the ſame Law, the Servant whoſe Ear has been bor'd through by his Maſter, with his own Conſent, is ſaid to be oblig'd to

A a ſerve

* The Temple of *Jeruſalem*, it is ſaid, ſhould be the Habitation of God *for ever*, 2 *Chron.* vi. 2. yet it has been demoliſh'd more than once; nor is there now left one Stone upon another, or any Sign of its being the Habitation of God.

The Kingdom of *David* was ſaid to be eternal, and yet it went out of the Family of *David*, and is now utterly extinct. *V. Epiſc.* p. 32. Col. ii. b. ſec. 3. 2 *Sam.* vii. 13.

ſerve him eternally, or for ever, *Exod.* xxi. 6. And yet it was appointed by the ſame Law, that all Servants were to be manumitted, or to be made free in the Compaſs of half an Age, that is to ſay, every Jubilee. Beſides, before the Moſaick Law, Circumciſion is ſaid to be an *eternal* Inſtitution, *Gen.* xvii. 7. And yet Circumciſion is now aboliſh'd by the ſame divine Authority. Laſtly, the Land of *Canaan* is given to *Abraham* and his Poſterity for an *eternal* Poſſeſſion, *Gen.* xiii. 15. and xvii. 8. and xlvii. 4. And yet his Poſterity have been a long Time diſpoſſeſs'd of it. By theſe and many other Paſſages like them, 'tis ſufficiently evident, that Eternity is not always ſignified by the Word עולם or לעולם: To which as you know very well, αἰὼν or αἰώνιος anſwers in the Septuagint, and afterwards in the New Teſtament, where there is a Neceſſity for the taking theſe Words in a looſer Senſe. Conſult, if you pleaſe, *Philem.* 15. *Jud.* 7. *Rom.* xvi. 25. 2 *Tim.* i. 9. *Tit.* i. 2. Laſtly, the Grammarians know very well, that both theſe Words are more remiſly taken by thoſe *Grecians*, who are Sojourners in a Country not their own.*

John xiv. 16.

THERE-

* And let me add, that it makes nothing againſt this Explication, that the ſame Word is us'd to expreſs the Duration of future Rewards. For the eternal Felicity of the Saints is not in the leaſt repugnant to any of the Attri-

THEREFORE, from the Use and Force of the foresaid Words, nothing can certainly be determin'd concerning the Eternity of infernal Punishments. Beside, 'tis remarkable, that in that Picture of Hell which the sacred Writings present to us, there are some Things that undoubtedly are figuratively or tropically express'd; which the Nature of Things themselves will not suffer to be strictly and literally understood. For besides that, 'tis difficult to associate, and to bring, as it were, into a triple Alliance, the Extremity of Cold, and Darkness, and raging Fire; how can Worms be able to endure these Flames, and live? nay not only to live, but to be in some Measure immortal, either in the Individuals, or in the Species and Offspring, since 'tis said that they *never die*. Lastly, the Bodies of the Damn'd themselves, let them be of what Nature they will, at least if they are compounded and organical, cannot without Dissolution endure eternal Fire: Nor will the Earth itself endure eternally in the Form in which we now behold it, or in that which it will, after the Conflagration,

Attributes of God; and therefore, in this Case, there's no Necessity of departing from the common literal Sense of the Word. And this ought always to be a Maxim, that Words must yield to Things: Otherwise, *this is my Body*, is as clear an Expression, and ought as much to be taken in a literal Sense, as *go into everlasting Fire*.

receive; and in one or the other of them Hell is appointed to be.

HITHERTO we have examin'd the Force of the Words, and the Nature of the Things which they ſignify. I deſire Leave to add in the third Place, that when our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt was converſant upon Earth, in the Form of a Servant, he ſpoke not in the Language of a Philoſopher, but in that of the Sons of Men; and eſpecially in that of the *Jews*, to whom he was chiefly ſent, as has been abundantly obſerv'd by learned Men in their Comments on the Diſcourſes of Chriſt; and therefore he follows, for the moſt Part, the receiv'd Opinion, and the Phraſeologies of his Country; and in the Inſtructions which he gave them for the promoting their Piety, he willingly uſes thoſe Expreſſions which were known to the People, and to their Magiſtrates, either from the Law or the Prophets, or from vulgar Tradition: And therefore when he treats of Hell under the Name of *Gehenna*, and proportions the Degrees of Puniſhment to the Nature of the Crimes, he ſpoke in the Style which the *Jews* ſpoke, a Style accommodated to the common Capacity. Likewiſe in deſcribing the Torments of Hell, *Mark* ix. 44. he makes uſe of the Expreſſion of the Prophet *Iſaiah*, Chap. lxvi. 24. of which the very identical Words are to be found in the ſeventy Interpreters: Ὁ γὰρ σκώληξ αὐτῶν ὁ τελευτήσει, καὶ τὸ πῦρ αὐτῶν ὁ σβεσθήσεται,

Mat. v. 22. 29.

σεται, *For their Worm shall never die, and their Fire shall not be quenched:* And other Authors make it apparent, that this Manner of speaking was known and familiar to the *Jews, viz. That Fire and Worms were the Punishment of the Ungodly.* Therefore Christ alter'd nothing in this Point, and believ'd that this Anticipation and Prepossession of the People was justly to be retain'd, when it appear'd instrumental in curbing the Audaciousness of the Wicked.

Eccluſ. vii. 18. Judith xvi. 21.

THUS every Thing relating to the Torments of Hell on either Side being weigh'd, every Man is at Liberty to embrace that Opinion which his Conscience shall pronounce to be most agreeable to sound Reason; and let him adhere to that Interpretation of the sacred Scripture upon this Point, which the weighty Reasons of the Cause before us will be best able to bear. If a State of eternal Misery and Impiety in the Creature is inconsistent with the Wisdom and Justice of the Creator, we must give up the literal Interpretation in this Point, or we must distinguish between the literal and the reasonable Hypothesis, the vulgar and the secret one, lest, by a temerarious and unskilful Interpretation, we entertain Thoughts unworthy of the divine Nature. But if on the other Side, there appears nothing to you in such a desperate State, a State unchangeably evil and miserable, foreign either from the Nature of God, or from the Nature of

Things, you muſt adhere to the Letter, and you muſt ſtop your Ears, and harden your Heart againſt all the Lamentations, the Groans, the Wails, and the diſmal Outcries of Men eternally undone, and everlaſtingly miſerable. Yet, if you will vouchſafe to hearken to me, not clamourouſly urging you, but gently adviſing you, I would rather have you call theſe indefinite than infinite Torments; for 'tis not ſufficiently evident, or known to me, what End they are like to have; but let us leave it to God to be determin'd by him, according to his Wiſdom and Mercy.*

I know not by what Means it happens at preſent, that ſome Divines of a cruel and fiery Temper are extreamly pleas'd with eternal and infinite Torments, and can hardly endure to have the Point fairly examin'd and debated on both Sides. But ſeveral of the Ancients have handled this Subject a great deal more gently and more modeſtly, and left to the Wiſdom and Pleaſure of God alone

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* That if it pleaſe him, the Priſoners may be releas'd when they have paid the uttermoſt Farthing, and ſatisfied his Juſtice. But if after all you cannot reliſh this Doctrine, let it be plac'd among the obſcure and doubtful ones. But the Time will come when this Opinion will be reckon'd as abſurd and odious, as Tranſubſtantiation is now.

See what the fifth OEcumenical Synod decreed againſt the finite Puniſhments of Hell, in *Gerard. de Infer.* tom. 9. p. 467. and *Huet. Orig.* l. 2. c. 11. p. 138, &c.

alone the Time that every one shall continue in those Torments. Thus *Justin Martyr* in his Dialogue with *Tryphon*; Αἱ μὲν (τῶν εὐσεβῶν ψυχαὶ) ἄξιαι τῷ Θεῷ φανεῖσαι, οὐκ ἀποθνήσκουσιν ἔτι· αἱ δὲ (τῶν ἀδίκων) κολάζονται ἐστ' ἂν αὐτὰς καὶ εἶναι καὶ κολάζεσθαι ὁ Θεὸς θέλῃ. *The Souls of the Righteous, which appear worthy of God, are to die no more: But the Souls of the Ungodly will be punish'd, as long as God will have them exist and be punish'd.* Nor does St. *Jerom* dissent from these, though otherwise a Man of a very high, and sometimes an impetuous Spirit; yet in this Point he shews a Moderation of Soul that is worthy of Commendation. In his Commentaries he has these Words on the forementioned Passage of *Isaiah*, Chap. lxvi. and the last Verse, *They who are of the Opinion that these Punishments will one Day be ended, and the Torments be one Time no more, have Recourse to the following Testimonies:* Then quoting the Passages which appear to be favourable to that Opinion, he adds these Words: *Which are all repeated by those that are desirous to assert, that after the Rack and the Tortures are over, Rest and Refreshment will follow; which at present is to be hid from those, to whom Fear is wholesome and useful; that while they are afraid of the Punishment, they should be debarr'd from their Sins; which we ought to leave to the Knowledge of God alone, who weighs not only his Mer-* Pag. 223.

cies, but these Torments likewise, as it were in the Balance, and knows who, and how, and how long every one ought to be punish'd. This says St. *Jerom* upon the foresaid Passage: And he had said Things related to these before in the same Commentaries, on the twenty fourth Chapter, towards the End. *We ought to know that human Frailty cannot penetrate the Judgment and the Justice of God, nor be capable of giving any Opinion concerning the Greatness or the Duration of Punishments which he inflicts, which is left entirely to the Will of the Lord.*

THUS far he: I make no mention of *Origen*, whose Opinion concerning this Matter is universally known, who seems to have been follow'd in this Point as in several others, by both the *Gregories*, **Nazianzene*, and

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*See Orat. 40. p. 665. When he had spoken of the eternal Punishment of the Damn'd according to the received Opinion, he seems afterwards to correct himself, and discovers some Doubt concerning it, by adding, Εἰ μὴ τῷ φίλον κἀνταῦθα νοεῖν τοῦτο φιλανθρωπότερον, ἢ τῷ καλάζοντι ἐπαξίως. *Unless any one is inclined to interpret this in a Sense more mild towards Man the Sufferer, and more worthy of God the Avenger.* He intimates, that 'tis more humane, and better becoming the Deity, that these Punishments should be moderated. *Nilus*, the Scholar of St. *Chrysostome*, and a Martyr, from this Place of *Nazianzene*, infers, that in those Times the Fathers were dubious about the Eternity of Hell Torments, and that it was an Opinion very much controverted among them; since *Nazianzene*, says he, Ἔφησε τοῖς βλομένοις νοῆσαι τὸ πῦρ ἐκεῖνο φιλανθρωπότερον, *has left it free for any one, as pleases, to understand this Fire in a milder Sense.*

and *Nyſſene*:* And ſeveral other Fathers, whom we mention'd above, and who were of Opinion that the Flames of Hell were πῦρ καθάρσιον, as well as κολαστήριον, a purgative as well as punitive Fire, ſignified by that very Thing, that thoſe Torments would one Day have an End. Laſtly, St. *Auſtin*† calls the Patrons of this Opinion by no incongruous Title, the *Merciful Doctors*, and treats them with Humanity. ‡ *Now*, ſays he, *I ſee that I muſt go to work with our merciful Doctors, with whom I muſt diſpute pacifically; who are of Opinion, that the Puniſhment will not be eternal, either of all thoſe whom the moſt righteous Judge ſhall pronounce worthy of the Puniſhment of Hell, or of ſome of them: But after the*

* See Chap. viii. Orat. Catechet. where he ſays, that they who are incorrigible in this Life, ſhall in the next be cured by more ſevere and bitter Remedies. And in his *de Anima & Reſurr.* p. 229. he treats of the univerſal Purgation and Reſtoration; and there he often repeats this ſame or a like Opinion: as he does likewiſe *de Opif. hominis*, c. 21.

† *Civit. Dei*, l. xx. c. 17. and following.

‡ Notwithſtanding what he may have ſaid in ſome Places, in others he ſeems doubtful in determining in what Senſe the Puniſhments of Sinners are call'd *eternal*; as particularly where he ſays, *Nor would I be underſtood by ſpeaking thus to hinder a more accurate Enquiry into the Meaning of Scripture, when it pronounces the Puniſhments of the Wicked to be eternal.* (See D. Hamm. * * * * and * * * * l. 7. from St. *Auguſt.* l. de Serm. Dom. in mont. tom. 4. on *Matt.* v. 25, 26.) But let us return to the Place about the *Merciful*.

the Limits of a certain Time, which will be longer or ſhorter, according to the Greatneſs of every one's Offence, they believe that they will be deliver'd from it.

THUS has St. *Auſtin* laid before us the Opinion of the *merciful Doctors*. They who are of the other Party may be called, by the Reaſon of Contraries, *The Doctors without Mercy*: And one of theſe, in the Name of the Reſt, has deliver'd his Opinion of the Torments of Hell after the following Manner: *If all the Men that were ever born from Adam to this preſent, and all thoſe who will hereafter be born, ſhould live till the laſt Day, and all the Blades of Graſs that ever ſprang up, were Men; and if they were equally to diſtribute only one Puniſhment which a Soul ſuffers in Hell, for only one mortal Sin; ſo that every one ſhould have an equal Share of that Puniſhment; then every equal Share of the Puniſhment of that one Man, would be greater than all the Torments, which all the holy Martyrs, and all Robbers, and the greateſt Malefactors have ever yet endur'd.* Thus far he. Now, if to theſe cruel and outrageous Torments, you add Eternity, you will fill up all the Parts, the Numbers, and the Meaſures of Inhumanity.*

Apud Diſcip. de temp.

'TIS

* Did we but ſeriouſly conſider what Eternity is, how vaſt, how boundleſs a Thing, we ſhould be leſs forward in pronouncing eternal Puniſhments upon the miſe-

'Tis difficult to us to diveſt ourſelves of all Humanity; 'tis more difficult to God to lay

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miſerable. Eternity has ſomething dreadful in its very Sound; 'tis infinite, inexhauſtible! *So vaſt are the Spaces of Eternity*, ſays a certain Divine, *that if any one of the Damn'd ſhould drop but one Tear every thouſandth Tear, it would raiſe more Water than the World could contain.*

To theſe Opinions of the Fathers, give me Leave to add an Argument from Reaſon, which to me ſeems to be of ſome Weight: If there be no Purgation, no Mitigation, or Remiſſion of Puniſhment, what will become of the Souls of a middle Condition? Such Souls I mean that have not diſtinguiſh'd themſelves in any great Degree of Piety or Impiety; that are neither very good nor very wicked; ſuch as in Reality the greateſt Part of Mankind are. They have more of the Brute than of the Devil in them. What will become, I ſay, * * * *

We have obſerved above, that the human Species may be divided into three Ranks; the Good, the Bad, and the Middling. The Good are plac'd in eternal Felicity, the Bad in eternal Torments; but where are the Middle Sort to go, or what will become of them? They ſeem neither deſerving of eternal Puniſhments nor eternal Happineſs. The Truth is, there muſt be a certain Degree * * * * *

There muſt be the ſame Diſparity in the Recompence of Perſons, as there is in their Deſerts.

There have been ſome who have thought that the Souls of the Wicked, worn out by a Length of Puniſhments, ſhall at laſt die, and loſe all Senſation and Vitality; according to that of *Arnobius*, *The Souls that know not God are conſumed after a long Run of Time by their fiery Tortures:* The ſame ſay *Tatian* and *Irenæus*. See Iren. l. 2. c. 64.

Laſtly, that is call'd πῦρ ἄσβεστον, *an unquenchable Fire*, which burns without any Intermiſſion; that is not put out by any external Force, but laſts as long as there is any thing remaining to nouriſh and feed it.

lay aside all Mercy. And, if we are able to corrupt or destroy our own Nature, the divine Nature we are able neither to corrupt nor destroy. Men formerly beat Drums in the Valley of *Hinnon*, that the Cries of the Children, who were sacrific'd to the Fiery Idol, and who shriek'd most ruefully among the Flames, might not be heard by their Parents or the People. But though you could make all Heaven resound with perpetual Thunderings, yet you can never bring it to pass, that in this Tophet, concerning which we speak, you can hinder the Lamentations, and the piercing Cries of so many Millions of tormented Wretches, from mounting up to the Ears of *Jehova*, the Father and the Fountain of all Mercy.

Now behold, if you please, O mercileſs Doctor, the Spectacle that you set before us; what Theatre of Providence! Behold by much the greater Part of the Race of Men, weltering amidst the Flames for everlasting Ages! O Scene, deserving to have God and Angels for its Spectators! And then to charm your Ears, while you hear Heaven and Earth resounding with the Screams, the Shrieks, the Groans, the Roars of so many Millions of the tormented Damn'd, have you not a divine Harmony in your Ears, a truly celestial Consort. Besides, this gives me no small Displeasure, that I see so great a Part of reasonable Nature, in this Manner entirely lost and become the Outcast of Things;

like

like Salt that has loſt its Savour, or Wine that has loſt its Spirit, thrown contemptibly out of Doors, too vile for any preſent Uſe, or any future Hope.

EVERY Creature, as far as it appears to us, is liable to fall, as well as the Wicked and the Damn'd. But if they who fall after the ſame Manner, are altogether irrecoverable, the whole intellectual Creation is then expoſed, not only to Vanity, but to eternal Miſery: And to have framed ſuch a Nature of Things*, would not have required ſo much a divine Goodneſs, as the Cruelty of ſome evil Demon, or the hazardous Work of Chance. God formerly repented, that he had made Man, by reaſon of his abominable Wickedneſs: Miſerable Man will in his Turn

* That which happens in this World may poſſibly happen in others; but here, as 'tis vulgarly believ'd, the greater Part of Humankind will periſh eternally. Make but the ſame Suppoſition of other Worlds, and then what a Havock, what Deſolation will there be of the rational Nature, if you extend the Account throughout the Univerſe? This loſt uſeleſs Part of Nature will far exceed the remaining Part. I call it *uſeleſs*; for it will be, as it were, the *Caput Mortuum* of the Univerſe, or the curſed barren Dregs of Earth, from whence nothing good or valuable can be extracted. And not only ſo; it is not only an unprofitable Burden upon Nature, but an intolerable Burden to itſelf; neither can it relinquiſh, nor bear itſelf. It curſes the hateful Light, and the Day whereon it firſt ſaw the Sun and the Stars; curſes the over-officious Hour that call'd it forth from its primitive Nothing, where it lay quiet in a happy State of Silence and Obſcurity.

Turn repent that ever God created him; since it had been much better for him never to have at all existed.*

Let thus much suffice concerning Hell, and the future Punishment of the Wicked, provided you subjoin that Admonition, which is always used by the forementioned Fathers, whenever they handle this Subject; that is to say, whatever your Opinion is within yourself, and in your own Breast concerning these Punishments, whether they are eternal or not; yet always with the People, and when you preach to the People, use the receiv'd Doctrine, and the received Words in the Sense, in which the People receive them: For they are apt to run headlong into Vice, and are to be terrify'd from offending by the Apprehension of Punishment only. Besides, among the Good, there are the Children, and the Persons grown up, to be nourish'd with Milk, or more solid Food, according to the Strength

1 Cor. iii. 2. Heb. v. 12, 13.

* In fine, they who cannot approve of the Doctrine of absolute Reprobation, because it seems repugnant to the divine Nature and Attributes, ought to be as much displeased with the eternal Punishments of the Wicked, since they are equally repugnant to the same Attributes; as, on the other Hand, 'tis the Interest of those who receive that Doctrine of Reprobation, to reject this of eternal Punishment; because thereby they will much lessen the Force of the greatest Objection, that lies against them; since it will not be altogether so shocking for a Man to be pre-ordain'd and condemn'd to Punishments that will have an End; but to Punishments eternal and intolerable, would be the most poignant and exquisite Severity.

Strength of each of them. No leſs Regard is to be paid to theſe, nor is the Diet of the little Ones, or the weak Ones to be raſhly chang'd, leaſt an Intemperature in their Conſtitutions ſhould ariſe, and throw them into Diſeaſes. You ought to have always before your Eyes, and always in your Deſigns, the Progreſs of Providence in gradually promoting * Piety in the World, and in illuminating Humankind; and you ought in your Endeavours and your Deſigns, to proceed with an equal Pace till we arrive to that, that what has been whiſper'd to us, we may proclaim upon the Houſe Top. But Minds are gradually to be accuſtom'd to bear the more forcible Rays of Truth. Too much Light is hurtful to tender Eyes, or Light too ſuddenly pour'd upon them. Few behold Things themſelves as they are, but only their Images as they appear when they are ſeen, as it were, in a Glaſs. But we ſhall at length, if it pleaſes God, ſee the Things themſelves even Face to Face, as they ſay, the Vail being taken from them. This we ſhall do, partly towards the End of this World, but more fully in the next.

The

* And therefore, as this was written for the Peruſal of the Learn'd only, whoever ſhall tranſlate it into the vulgar Language, I can think no otherwiſe, but that he does it with an ill Intention and for wicked Purpoſes.

The CONCLUSION.

WHEN the Matter of this Book is of various Kinds, and comprehends divers Heads of the Chriſtian Doctrine, and thoſe for the moſt Part beyond the Paths and the Light of Nature, it may eaſily happen, that in treating of theſe, I may ſometimes have err'd from the Mark. I am but a Man, but a little Man, and am far from thinking myſelf above the Infirmities that are incident to human Nature. But he who with a ſincere Mind, and who without any Fear, or Averſion, or Affection whatever, ſeeks the naked Truth, has God for his Aſſiſtant; God, I ſay, will open to him who knocks, will give to him who asks, provided we ask for that pure and pacifick Wiſdom which deſcends from Heaven. Nor let any one blame me, becauſe that, in treating of this Subject, I have found many Things obſcure in the ſacred Writings; many Things, if I may uſe the Expreſſion, not adequately, or not abſolutely reveal'd. I deſire that this may be underſtood as ſpoke, with regard to my own Underſtanding and Capacity: And if any other Perſon ſhall clear up thoſe Paſſages better, I ſhall be glad to embrace the Diſcovery, and to congratulate the Author:

But

But I find this to be the chief Obſtacle to true Knowledge, that we are aſham'd of our Ignorance; and that we do not diſtinguiſh Things that are clear, from Things that are obſcure, as if we ſaw clearly and diſtinctly through every Thing alike.

MOST of the Commentators on the ſacred Scripture underſtand, or pretend to underſtand every ſingular Paſſage. You ſhall no where find them conſcious of their Ignorance and confeſſing it. In like Manner, the ſcholaſtick Doctors, and they who preſide in Univerſity Chairs, ſolve every Problem after their own Way, attain to Truth in them all, and comprehend them all. I really admire the Omniſcience of both Claſſes of Divines: They think it ſhameful, forſooth, or at leaſt inglorious, for the Teachers of Chriſtians to be ignorant of any Thing in their Art. Perhaps this their Oſtentation of Univerſal Science may contribute to the augmenting that Eſteem, which their Diſciples, or the Vulgar have conceiv'd of them; but it will be eſteem'd by the Wiſe to be a Proof of Defect of Judgment: For they who pronounce as boldly of Objects remote, or latent in the Dark, as of thoſe that are nearer, and that are ſeen in the Light, will be thought to have ſeen neither the one nor the other clearly and diſtinctly.

IT has ſeem'd Good to Providence, while we are in this Life, to lay before us the Accounts of myſtical Points compendiouſly,

and, as it were, by Halves, that being rouz'd and waken'd by these Hints and Specimens, we may be acquainted both with the Bounds of our present Dispensation, and the Perfection of the Future. " If ten Men of Sense, " and of a liberal Spirit, were to write at the " same Time upon this very Subject; that " is, upon the Things of a future Life, or, " as they are wont to call them, the last " Things, I can hardly believe, that " two of the Ten would be of the same " Opinion in every Point. And, therefore, " if the friendly Reader differs from me in " some of them, nay, if in all, I shall not " at all wonder; and for the same Reason, " let not him be angry with me: For " *Thebes* is every Jot as far distant from *A-* " *thens*, as *Athens* is from *Thebes*: Nor does " he less dissent from me, than I from him " dissent. The only Question is, Which " of us comes neareſt to the Truth?" *Elias* when he comes will solve many Difficulties; Christ will solve all when he comes. Let there be Light, I shall be glad to be refuted in any Point which I have been mistaken in. It is my hearty Prayer, I desire nothing more than the Truth, and nothing but the Truth.

In the mean while, let us faithfully retain the Form of sound Doctrines and Words, the Immortality of the Soul, the Resurrection of the Dead, Rewards and Punishments in a future Life, according to every ones Works, and the Disposition of his Mind: Lastly,

Laſtly, the Conflagration and Renovation of the World; and that Chriſt will come, and will reign here: Theſe, and if beſide theſe there are any other primary Points, which relate to a future Life, let us preſerve them with the utmoſt Care: But as for the Modes of Things that are to come, their * Order, and their Circumſtances, 'tis but juſt that we ſhould indulge and aſſiſt each other in our Enquiries after them. We ought not with Bitterneſs to conteſt with each other about Things which God is not pleaſed that we ſhould be fully inſtructed in, during this preſent State; and they who for Cauſes of this Nature ſatirize and rail at each other, or are inflamed with Anger and Spleen for the light and doubtful Errors of others, they fall themſelves into undoubted Sins, and I may add, into grievous ones. Let us at length avoid theſe Miſchiefs, which, to the Diſgrace of the Chriſtian Name, have, alas! too much prevail'd. At length, let us ceaſe to

1 Cor. iii. 3. & vi. 10. Gal. v. 20. 1 Pet. ii. 1.

* Concerning this Judgment, (*meaning the laſt Judgment*,) we are inform'd of theſe Particulars; The Coming of *Elias Theſbites*, the Converſion of the *Jews*, the Perſecution of Antichriſt, that Chriſt ſhall be the Judge, the Reſurrection of the Dead, the Separation of the Good from the Bad, the Conflagration of the World, and laſtly its Renovation: All which, we are aſſur'd, will come to paſs; but in what Manner or Order they will happen, we ſhall then beſt know, when we ſhall have ſeen and experienced the whole Proceſs; the Underſtanding of Man being at preſent not able to arrive at a Certainty in theſe Particulars. *Lactan. Fragm. de extr. Judic. Auguſt de C. D. lib.* xx. *cap.* 30.

to play the Fool, or rather to be mad: Let every one be contented to propose his own Opinion, fortify'd with the best Reasons and Proofs which he is able to bring, without doing Hurt to his Neighbour, and without Quarrel or Contumely, which signify nothing to Truth, and contribute nothing to the Defence of the Cause. On the contrary, when the Patrons of a Cause desert the just Defence of it, to affront and abuse their Adversaries, 'tis a shrewd Sign of the Weakness of it. *Let us, therefore, as many of us as are well instructed, or endeavour to be so, retain these Sentiments: And if any of you have other Sentiments relating to this Matter, God will reveal even this to him.*

F I N I S

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